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THE
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OF
DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS.

CONDUCTED BY

JAMES B. LONGACRE, PHILADELPHIA; AND JAMES HERRING, NEW YORK:

Under the Superintendence of the American Academy of the Fine Arts.

VOLUME II.

> "These are deeds which should not pass away,
> And names that must not wither, though the earth
> Forgets her empires with a just decay,
> The enslavers and the enslaved, their death and birth."

PHILADELPHIA, HENRY PERKINS, 159 CHESTNUT STREET.
NEW YORK, MONSON BANCROFT, 389 BROADWAY.
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ADDRESS.

On presenting the second volume of the National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans to the public, the conductors find themselves in a position again to express their thanks for the encouragement they have continually received from every section of the Union; and also for the valuable assistance which has been offered to them by the talented contributors to the literary portion of the work.

It is unnecessary here to speak of the unwearied exertions which have been used in collecting and arranging the materials of which this volume is composed; a moment's reflection, and a glance at the extensive range of our subjects, will show that the labor has not been light; but it is proper to state, and we feel justified in saying, that as conductors of a national work, we have never lost sight of our responsibility to the public, but have faithfully endeavored to fulfil every pledge given at the commencement.

We only ask this to be borne in mind, that the publication of so extensive a series of portraits, in the same space of time, had never before been attempted in this country, and that in general, the talents of our Engravers had to be trained to this particular branch of the art *upon this work.* How well they have succeeded, every one will judge from the evidence submitted. Thus far, then, the Portrait Gallery has been a school for the best talent of the country: no Artist of respectable qualifications has been refused employment, and every one employed has been encouraged to strive for the mastery, by his best exertions being rewarded *according to his own estimate of their value.*

For the future, we cannot promise greater efforts, but greater success we confidently anticipate, from the increased means which have been developed and improved.

JAMES B. LONGACRE.
JAMES HERRING.

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

LL. D., F. R. S.

Dr. Franklin was unquestionably a very remarkable man; one who, in any age or country, would, by the mere force of his native talents, have made a respectable figure in life. It is probable, however, that had his lot thrown him in an older or more refined community than America was in his youth, he would not have been contemplated as the sun of the system. He, like many other distinguished characters, was much indebted to circumstance. It must be admitted, too, that he had many conceits, or fancies; that he was by no means without his foibles; and that, in his own phrase, he committed some great errors in the early part of his career.

This is not said with any view of detracting from the eminent merit of Dr. Franklin, but as his own and the candid opinion of posterity; when he looked back upon his errors, he freely confessed them, pointing out to others the rocks and quicksands on which he struck, or into which his passions or his inclinations had plunged him. Most of his mistakes seem to have been the effect of constitution, or at least constitutional organization favored their growth. His passions were not violent; his affections were rather steady than warm; his sensibilities rather correct than acute.

It has been ascertained that the Franklin family were settled at the village of Ecton, in Northamptonshire, England, on a freehold estate, of about thirty acres, more than three hundred years ago; the eldest sons generally having been blacksmiths. "Our humble family," observes Franklin, in the admirable memoir which he wrote of his own life, "early embraced the reformed religion. Our forefathers continued protestants through the reign of Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of persecution, on account of their zeal against popery."

The family preserved its attachment to the Church of England, till towards the close of the reign of Charles II., when some of its members, amongst whom was Josiah the father of Benjamin, the subject of this memoir, became non-conformists. Marrying early in life, Josias came with his first wife and a few children to America; BENJAMIN was born in Boston, January 17th, 1706; he was the fifteenth of seventeen children; his father attained the age of eighty-seven, and his mother that of eighty-five. Over their grave at Boston, some years after their death, our philosopher placed a stone, bearing the following inscription:—

> **"HERE LIE**
>
> **JOSIAS FRANKLIN, and Abiah his wife; they lived together with reciprocal affection fifty-nine years, and, without private fortune, without lucrative employment, by assiduous labor and honest industry, decently supported a numerous family, and educated with success thirteen children and seven grandchildren. Let this example, reader, encourage thee diligently to discharge the duties of thy calling, and to rely on the support of Divine Providence.**
>
> **He was pious and prudent,**
> **She discreet and virtuous.**
> **Their youngest son, from a sentiment of filial duty, consecrates**
> **This stone**
> **To their memory."**

The father had emigrated to enjoy religious freedom; he was a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler. Young FRANKLIN, having been intended for the ministry, was sent to a grammar school when eight years of age; but as the father's circumstances frustrated that design, he was taken home, and employed in cutting wicks, filling moulds, and waiting on his parents, performing in fact the duties of an errand boy and youngest apprentice. Not liking that occupation, in which he continued two years, he wished to become a sailor; but it was at length determined that he should be a printer; he was accordingly bound to one of his brothers, who, having learned the trade in London, had returned and settled in Boston. Previously to this, the youth had evinced a strong partiality for reading; it was now in some measure gratified, and conceiving a passion for poetry, he wrote two ballads on local subjects, which his brother printed, and then despatched him about the town to sell the copies. Finding, however, that prose was more likely to become his *forte* than verse, he paid great attention to a volume of the Spectator, which accidentally fell into his hands; his nights were now devoted to perusing such books as his limited resources enabled him to obtain. It is curious and interesting to trace the progress of his mind, and we therefore enumerate some of the books which thus early engaged his attention. Defoe's Essays on Projects, and Dr. Mather's on Doing Good, were among his earliest studies: the style of the Spectator delighted him;

in his memoirs will be found an account of his exertions to imitate it. Aware of the difficulties he must encounter without a knowledge of arithmetic, in which he had failed at school, he now borrowed a little treatise, which he mastered without assistance; he then studied navigation. At the age of sixteen, he read Locke on the Human Understanding, the Port Royal Logic, and Xenophon's Memorabilia.

At this age, he adopted a system of vegetable diet, by which he saved one half the money allowed for his board; and he states that by abstaining from flesh, he found his apprehension quicker, and the faculties of his mind in general improved. We now find the philosophic young typographer purchasing books with the little sums he was enabled to save by the frugality of his diet.

His brother commenced, during this apprenticeship, the publication of a newspaper, the second that had appeared in America. After having assisted in setting the types, and printing the paper, young FRANKLIN was sent to distribute the copies. At this time, though yet a boy, he enjoyed the singular pleasure of being the admired author of many essays in the periodical; a circumstance which he had the address to keep a secret, for some time, even from his brother; but on its becoming known, he was severely lectured for his presumption, and treated with great severity. From the passionate disposition of his relative, who even went so far as to beat him, he regarded his apprenticeship as the most horrid species of servitude. "Perhaps," says he, "this harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with the aversion to arbitrary power that has stuck to me through my whole life."

It so turned out, that one of the political articles gave offence to the general court of the colony; the publisher was imprisoned, and forbidden to print any more copies; to elude this prohibition, BENJAMIN was now made the nominal editor, and his indentures were ostensibly cancelled. His brother having obtained his release, our youth took advantage of this act, to assert his freedom, and thus escape from the ill usage he had been subjected to. He had in the course of his reading imbibed, from Shaftesbury and Collins, those sceptical notions which he is known to have held during a part of his life. The odium to which these subjected him, his father's displeasure, and his brother's abuse, seemed to leave him no alternative but to seek another home; and at the age of seventeen, he embarked on board a small vessel bound to New York.

Not meeting with employment in that city, he proceeded to Philadelphia, where, on his arrival, he did not think it prudent, in consequence of his small stock of money, to treat himself with a dinner. He therefore bought three pennyworth of bread, and receiving three large rolls, a far greater quantity than he expected, he made a satisfactory meal of one, and gave the remaining two to a poor woman and her children; his whole stock was now a single dollar. "Who would have dreamed," says Brissot de Warville, "that this poor wanderer would become one of the legislators of America, the ornament of the new world, the pride of modern philosophy."

Having worked for a short time with a printer at Philadelphia, he attracted Sir William Keith's notice; Sir William was then governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and wished to see a paper established; he therefore induced FRANKLIN to return to Boston and solicit pecuniary aid from his father, on the promise of great encouragement from the governor. The father, however, refused the required aid, on the ground that he was too young—only eighteen—to be entrusted with such a concern. In consequence of this refusal, Sir William said he would advance the sum that might be necessary, and our tyro should go to England and purchase the requisite materials, for which he would give him letters of credit.

To England, therefore, FRANKLIN went, though he had never obtained the promised letters, having been deluded by promises of their being sent on board the ship after him, and hoping, during the progress of the voyage, that they were in the governor's packet, and to receive them on its being opened. What were his feelings on finding himself in this just expectation cruelly deceived? The letters delivered to his keeping had no reference to him or his affairs; he was in London without money, friends, or credit, almost three years before the period of manhood. His freethinking ideas received a check when he remembered that Sir William had agreed with him on topics of religion: from the disgraceful abandonment of moral obligation which FRANKLIN experienced in him, and subsequently in other freethinkers, he began to doubt the soundness of the principles of those who lived without God in the world. The moral duties are very feebly performed, if not grossly violated, by those who acknowledge not the force of religious ties.

In London, where he arrived in 1725, he soon found employment at Palmer's printing-office. Whilst there, happening to be engaged on a new edition of Wollaston's "Religion of Nature," he wrote and printed a little metaphysical tract by way of answer, under the title of "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." On reading this treatise, his master complimented him on his talents, but condemned its principles as abominable. The pamphlet, however, procured him an introduction to Dr. Mandeville, who promised to present him to Sir Isaac Newton, but did not keep his word. Sir Hans Sloane, hearing that he had a purse made of asbestos, invited him to his house, exhibited his curiosities, and purchased the purse for a handsome sum.

Although guilty of some excesses while in London, he afterwards became a model of temperance and industry, and even reformed his brother printers by his example and exhortation.

While in London, he continued to devote his leisure hours to books and study, and in 1726, after a stay of eighteen months, he returned to America, with Mr. Denham, a merchant of Philadelphia, as his clerk, on a salary of £50 a year. On his arrival, he found that his old sweetheart, Miss Read, had been induced by her parents, in consequence of his neglect, which FRANKLIN justly regarded as one of the great errors of his life, to marry another man. Extraordinary circumstances, however, prevented that couple from ever living together; and, at a subsequent period, FRANKLIN married the lady, who proved an excellent and invaluable wife.

His truly worthy master, Mr. Denham, died in the course of the ensuing year, when FRANKLIN returned to his original business, first under Keimer his former master, then with a young man of the name of Meredith; they printed a newspaper, which was conducted with much ability, and acquired FRANKLIN some reputation; the project was very profitable, and afforded him an opportunity of distinguishing himself as a political writer. He also opened a shop for the sale of books and stationery.

In 1732, having had leisure for both reading and writing, he began to publish "Poor Richard's Almanac," which he continued with great success for many years. "The Way to Wealth," extracted from that publication, and consisting of numerous and valuable concise maxims, has been translated into various languages, and inserted in almost every newspaper and magazine in England and America.

About this period, FRANKLIN was one of a number of individuals who originated the Library Company of Philadelphia. The combination was at first small. FRANKLIN printed the first notices of the meetings of the directors, and circulated them himself; the payments were made very slowly, and some time elapsed before the organization of the company. The subject of our brief biography performed the duties of librarian for a short period, for which he received a salary. At a subsequent period, when the project was agitated of erecting the present ornamental and substantial structure, for the books of the institution, Dr. FRANKLIN intimated that he should bequeath his own collection to the company as soon as a suitable building might be prepared. This intention was never fulfilled; he left only eighteen quarto volumes to them. The statue which graces the front of the library, was executed in Italy, by order and at the expense of William Bingham, Esq.; it is one of the few statues of marble in the country, and is justly admired, if not for its striking resemblance, at least as a work of art. It is probably owing to this figure, and the knowledge of the fact of his being one of the founders, that the institution has obtained the sobriquet of the Franklin Library.

When a new issue of paper money was made at Philadelphia, FRANKLIN displayed great ingenuity in sketching and engraving the border for the notes, and in conducting the letter-press; and when in want of new letter, as no letter-foundry then existed on the American continent, he used types as punches, and struck the matrices in lead. He also made his own printing-ink, and was frequently his own joiner. "Reading," says he, "was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, gaming, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. My original habits of frugality continued, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men;' I thence considered industry as a mean of obtaining distinction, which encouraged me; though I did not think I should ever literally stand before kings, which, however, has since happened, for I have stood before five, and even had the honor of sitting down with one (the king of Denmark) to dinner. We have an English proverb that says,

'He that would thrive,
Must ask his wife;'

It was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper-makers, &c. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was for a long time bread and milk, (no tea) and I ate it out of a two-penny porringer, with a pewter spoon; but mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress in spite of principle: being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a china bowl, with a spoon of silver. They had been bought for me without my knowledge, by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three and twenty shillings; for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and china bowl, as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and china in our house, which afterwards, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value."

Such are a few of the interesting particulars communicated by this eminent man himself, for the benefit and amusement of his countrymen. His industry, frugality, activity, intelligence; his plan for bettering the condition of the province, for introducing improved systems of education; his municipal services, made him an object of attention to the whole population. He was consulted by the governor and council, on the most important occasions, and soon elected a member of the assembly.

At the age of twenty-seven, he undertook to learn Spanish, French, and Italian; and when he had nearly mastered them, he applied himself to Latin. He was prominent as a founder of the university of Pennsylvania, and of the American Philosophical Society, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital, though he has received more credit in that particular, than he is properly entitled to, as the records of that charity sufficiently show. We do not design to take from Dr. FRANKLIN, any praise to which he is fairly entitled; fortunately for his fame, he does not require any adventitious aid to command our reverence, and that of all posterity.

Dr. FRANKLIN started in 1741 the "General Magazine and Historical Chronicle," and invented in 1742, the Franklin stove; for this improvement on the old fashioned open fireplace, he refused a patent, on the ground that such inventions ought to be made universally subservient to the common good of mankind; an example which the citizens of this nation have been slow to follow. This stove, though still occasionally seen, is in turn superseded by later improvements, and the general introduction of anthracite. Being in Boston, in 1746, he witnessed some experiments in electricity; they were imperfectly performed, but were nevertheless the origin of one of the most brilliant discoveries in natural philosophy, which alone would have been fame enough to have established a claim to immortality.

Upon his return to Philadelphia, he repeated the same experiments with complete success, and adding others, of which some accounts had reached him from England, the science for a time wholly occupied his ambition. He acquired by practice a dexterity in performing those experiments, and soon diffused his fame through the world, and drew upon his native country the regard and attention of all Europe. He was the first who fired gun-powder, gave magnetism to needles of steel, melted metals, and killed animals of considerable size, by means of electricity.

The various steps by which he acquired his knowledge of this science, are too well known to need repetition here. A relation of his experiments was communicated by **Franklin** himself, in letters to a friend in London. "Nothing," says Priestley, "was ever written on the subject of electricity more justly admired, in all parts of Europe, than these letters. Electricians everywhere employed themselves in repeating his experiments, or exhibiting them for money. All the world in a manner, even kings themselves, flocked to see them, and all retired full of admiration for the invention of them." On the continent his discoveries were made public by the celebrated Buffon; the experiments were repeated by M. de Loz, before Louis XV., and were verified by many other philosophers. In Turin, by Father Beccaria; in Russia, by Professor Richmann, who, in the experiment of the kite, perished by a stroke of lightning.

The rights of the colonies had ever been a favorite subject, which he advocated both with his pen and in private, as our dearest prerogative. It was determined to hold a general congress at Albany; to this, **Franklin** was named as deputy, and on the route, he digested a plan of union, regulating all the great political interests of the colonies and the mother-country. His plan was adopted, congress proposing a general government for the provinces, to be administered by a president appointed by the crown, assisted by a grand council, to be chosen by the various provincial assemblies; the council was to have the power of laying taxes for the common exigencies. This *Albany plan*, as it was called, although unanimously sanctioned by congress, was rejected by the board of trade, as savoring too much of the democratic, and by the assemblies, as having too much of the influence of the mother country.

Appointed deputy post-master-general in 1751, he applied his mind to facilitating the intercourse between the different settled portions of the continent. In this he met with frequent difficulties incident to a new country, where the want of roads formed an almost insurmountable obstacle to the best laid schemes; but he persevered, and to him we are indebted for some suggestions which, having been acted on, have served to perfect the present admirable system of transportation, which equalizes so rapidly the very distant points of our vast country. In his official capacity, he advanced large sums from his private funds to assist General Braddock, though he feared the result of his expedition, and had made some fruitless suggestions with regard to its conduct. When Braddock's defeat was ascertained, he introduced a bill for establishing a volunteer militia; he accepted a commission as a commander, and raised a corps of five hundred and sixty men, with whom he went through a laborious campaign, and was chosen colonel after his return, by the officers of a regiment.

The proprietaries of Pennsylvania claiming to be exempted from taxation, an unpleasant dispute arose, and Colonel FRANKLIN was deputed by the provincial assembly, in 1757, to visit England as their agent. He published soon after a large work, entitled the "Historical Review," which was much liked, and increased his reputation, both at home and abroad, and he received the additional appointment of agent for the provinces of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia. The degree of doctor of laws was now conferred on him by the university of Oxford, as well as by those in Scotland, and the Royal Society elected him a fellow.

The personal connections which Dr. FRANKLIN formed during this residence in England, were of the most valuable and distinguished kind; he corresponded extensively with the most eminent individuals of the continent, and his letters to his friends and constituents must have occupied much of his time. A recent volume, edited by Jared Sparks, of his "Familiar Letters," assists us materially in forming an estimate of his private character, while the "Diplomatic Correspondence," lately published by act of congress, proves how sincerely he loved his native country, and what care he took of her interests while residing in his official capacity at the court of France. These letters added to his own memoirs and works, afford ample evidence, if any were wanting, of the striking union of a cultivated mind with a native and brilliant imagination.

He returned to America in 1762, and would have gladly rested himself in the bosom of domestic life, surrounded by his fellow citizens, who appreciated his talents and respected his patriotism; but in this he was destined to be disappointed. New difficulties arose between the province and the proprietaries, and FRANKLIN was again invested with the appointment of agent, in 1764. New and important events were on the eve of transpiring, and FRANKLIN appeared in England, no longer as simply a colonial agent, but as the representative of

America. Thirty-nine years had elapsed since his first landing on the British shore as a destitute and forlorn, nay, a deluded mechanic.

Great Britain had already announced the project of taxing her colonies, and Dr. FRANKLIN was the bearer of a remonstrance from the province of Pennsylvania against it, which he presented to Mr. Grenville before the passage of the justly odious stamp act. Throughout the existence of that measure, he opposed its operations in every possible mode, bending the energies of his prolific mind, to prove the unconstitutionality as well as the impolicy of casting a yoke on the shoulders of an indignant community who were likely to bear it with an ill grace.

His conduct on this occasion was highly praiseworthy. When the repeal was about to be attempted, it was concerted by his friends, that he should appear before the house of commons, and be examined on the whole question at issue. Here he displayed (February 3d, 1766,) so much firmness, readiness, and epigrammatic simplicity of manner, and information so much to the point on subjects of commerce, policy of government, finance, &c.; his precision of language was so remarkable, that the effect was irresistible, and the repeal inevitable.

Dr. FRANKLIN became still more bold and vehement in his expostulations, on the passage of the revenue acts of 1767. He then openly predicted to the English, that general resistance by the colonies, and a separation from the mother country, would be the inevitable result of those and other similar measures of the ministry. These were, however, madly pursued; FRANKLIN saw the coming storm with a clear vision and undaunted firmness; but he continued to adhere to his original plan, to make every effort to enlighten the public mind in England, to arrest the ministry in their infatuation, and to inculcate proper moderation and patience, as well as constancy and unanimity, on the part of his countrymen. He took every suitable means, at the same time, to keep on good terms with the British government, aware of the importance of such a standing to enable him to serve his country effectually; but he ceased not to proclaim the rights, justify the proceedings, and animate the courage of the suffering colonists. He was not ignorant, to use his own words, "that this course would render him suspected, in England of being too much an American, and in America, of being too much of an Englishman." This he braved in the conscious panoply of his own esteem, and continued to serve his country till circumstances, which we shall briefly hint at, induced him hastily to embark for home.

His transmission of the celebrated letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, in 1772, which had been placed in his hands, is matter of history, and not the least memorable of his acts at this opening period of the American revolution. His own share in the transaction was immediately avowed, though he could never be prevailed upon to divulge the names of the persons from whom he had received those documents. The Massachusetts assembly, indignant in consequence of these letters, petitioned the ministry, through Dr. FRANKLIN, when he was immediately held up as the mark for the virulent abuse, the hatred and ridicule of the periodical press, who would fain have extended the feeling to the whole nation. The spirit and wit with which he met the conflict, are particularly exemplified in his two satirical papers; "The Prussian Edict," and the "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One."

When the discussion of the petition before the privy council came on, FRANKLIN was present. Weddeburn, (since Lord Loughborough,) the solicitor-general, assailed him in a very ungentlemanly and undignified manner, descending even to coarse invective. He styled the venerable philosopher, and official representative of four of the American provinces, a "thief and a murderer," who had "forfeited all the respect of society and of men." This impotent rage only tended still further to inflame the breasts of the petitioners, who now saw their agent dismissed from his place of deputy postmaster-general. A chancery suit was instituted in relation to the letters, with a view of preventing him from entering upon his own vindication.

Notwithstanding this treatment, the British ministry knew their man too well to leave any means in their power untried to convert the republican notions which had taken root in his bosom. Attempts were actually made, as the schism between the two countries widened, to corrupt the man they had discovered they had no power to intimidate; "any reward," "unlimited recompense," "honor and recompense beyond his expectations," were held up to him to induce a change of conduct. But they all proved unavailing, for he was as inaccessible to bribery as to threats. He was about this time directed to present the famous petition of the first American congress.

At the period when Lord Chatham proposed his plan for a reconciliation between the colonies and the parent country, Dr. FRANKLIN attended behind the bar, in the house of lords. While Chatham was using his powerful eloquence in favor of his plan of pacification, he eulogized FRANKLIN as "one whom Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature." This, from such a speaker, must be admitted as high praise.

He soon after was informed that it was the intention of ministers to arrest him, as guilty of fomenting a rebellious spirit in the colonies, and he immediately embarked for America, where he was enthusiastically received, and immediately elected a member of congress.

Dr. Franklin served on many of the most arduous of the committees of that body, particularly as a member of the committee of safety, and of that of foreign correspondence, where he exerted all his influence in favor of the Declaration of Independence, of which instrument he is one of the signers.

Supplies from abroad becoming necessary to the infant republic, Dr. Franklin was sent to France, in 1776, as commissioner plenipotentiary to that court, where he soon succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Count de Vergennes, though not at first publicly recognised. The reception of information that Burgoyne had surrendered, put a new aspect upon our affairs abroad, and our plenipotentiary had the happiness to conclude the first treaty of the new states, with a foreign power, on the 6th of February, 1778. The American was now in high favor at court, sought for in all circles of fashionable society, and extremely useful in forwarding the views of his government, furnishing supplies, and corresponding with the prominent leaders of the revolution.

While resident there, he produced a work entitled "Comparison of Great Britain and America, as to Credit," by the publication of which he did much to establish the credit of America, throughout Europe; it appeared in 1777. The treaty with France, and the capture of Burgoyne, created of course a great sensation in England, and no sooner were they known than the British ministry began to talk of a reconciliation. Efforts, plain and insidious, were made to sound Franklin as to the terms that might probably, be obtained; his answer uniformly was, "nothing but independence." He had next to guard against the attempts made to separate France from our interests, and succeeded in defeating them. He was now one of the commissioners for negotiating the peace with the mother country.

These negotiations fairly closed, he earnestly requested, in 1782, to be recalled, stating his anxiety to be again in the bosom of his family; but this was refused. He continued in Paris, where his venerable age, his simplicity of manners, his scientific reputation, the ease, gaiety, and richness of his conversation—all contributed to render him an object of admiration to courtiers, fashionable ladies and *savans.* He regularly attended the meetings of the Academy of Sciences, and was appointed one of the committee which exposed Mesmer's animal magnetism.

During this period, Dr. Franklin negotiated two treaties; one with Prussia, and one with Sweden.

On his return to Philadelphia, after having served his country fifty-three years, he filled the office of president of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and served as a delegate in the federal convention, in 1787, and approved the constitution then formed.

Dr. Franklin died April 17, 1790, his faculties and affections unimpaired to the last, and lies buried in Christ Church burying-ground, at the corner of Arch and Fifth streets, Philadelphia, where a plain marble slab covers his remains and those of his wife, on which is inscribed simply,

BENJAMIN AND DEBORAH FRANKLIN,
1790.

A complete edition of his works was published in London, in 1806, in three volumes, octavo. His memoirs, with his posthumous writings, were published by his grandson, William Temple Franklin, in 1819, in three volumes, quarto, and a later edition in Philadelphia, in nine volumes, octavo.

Dr. Franklin was free from any deep religious bias; for some time he subscribed towards the support of a Presbyterian clergyman, in Philadelphia; but after attending him a few weeks, and finding that he was rather an indifferent preacher, and rarely inculcated a moral principle, he withdrew, and confined himself to the use of a small liturgy, or form of prayer, drawn up in 1728, entitled, "Articles of Belief, and Acts of Religion." "About the same time," he observes, "I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at *moral perfection;* I wished to live without committing any fault at any time, and to conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company, might lead me into. On the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was by the endeavor a better and happier man than I otherwise should have been, if I had not attempted it."

Blessed with an excellent constitution, aided by temperance, Dr. Franklin enjoyed a long continuance of robust health. As he advanced in years, however, he became subject to fits of the gout, to which, in 1782, a nephritic colic was superadded. From that time, he was afflicted with the stone as well as the gout, and for the last twelve months of his life, those complaints confined him almost entirely to his bed. Early in the spring of 1790, he was attacked by fever, and a complaint of his breast, which proved fatal, and his long and useful life was closed without a groan. He left one son, William, a zealous loyalist, and a daughter, married to Mr. Bache, a merchant of Philadelphia.

We have thus given the leading facts in the life of FRANKLIN, from his cradle to the grave. It is necessary to the proper completion of our pleasing task, to add a few remarks for the purpose of illustrating the character of so remarkable an individual. His early bias to literature was fostered in some measure by his father, who entertaining a high estimate for literary merit, applauded the industry, and excited the emulation of the son. In this he was standing in his own light, for it abstracted the youth from the pursuit of the trade by which the family lived, and induced him to disenthral himself from the fetters of so rude and inglorious an occupation. It, however, was a fortunate circumstance for the country. The business of a printer led him naturally amongst books, and his inquiring mind to the cultivation of letters; to promote this object, he early formed a literary club with a few ingenious young men about his own age, who conferred together on the subject of their studies, a practice which may be warmly recommended—many of our most eminent men trace to such associations the development of their minds.

Of FRANKLIN'S youthful levity on the subject of religion, it is necessary to remark, that when he had acquired a riper age, and more ample intelligence, he emphatically condemned it; but the extreme aversion, which, like many others of honest feelings, he entertained for that senseless dogmatism and mischievous intolerance which prevailed, both in Europe and America, led him sometimes to express sentiments on religious subjects, that by the severity of his age, were not always approved. He believed that honest men without any regard to religious denominations, were equally entitled to esteem. He insisted that in discussing the mysteries of our faith, much less time should be spent than in practising the duties which it enjoins; and indeed in all the business of his life, in morals and politics, as well as religion, he was much more an advocate for practice than speculation. But of the pure and innocent service of the Deity; of the essential doctrines of Christianity, no man has ever spoken with more reverence; and with such a life as FRANKLIN generally led, we should, perhaps, offer an injury to religion in supposing him, as some have done, an enemy to its prevalence, or a stranger to its benign influence.

The resolution he took up in his twenty-first year, was one which might more frequently be adopted than we see it to be. He was then on his voyage from England, and employed himself in marking down its incidents in a journal. It struck him while thus amusing himself, that it was unbecoming the character of a man to whom heaven has imparted intelligence and reason, to fluctuate without a design through life; and he then resolved to form some plan for his future conduct, by which he might promote his fortune, and procure respect and reputation in society. This plan is prefaced by the following reflections. "Those who write of the art of poetry, teach us, that if we would write what would be worth the reading, we ought always before we begin, to form a regular design of our piece; otherwise we shall be in danger of incongruity. I am apt to think it is the same as to life. I have never fixed a regular design in life: by which means it has been a confused variety of different scenes. I am now entering upon a new one; let me, therefore, make some resolutions, and form some schemes of action, that henceforth, I may live in all respects like a rational creature."

To these remarks, he attached a set of rules and moral principles, which, while they show his noble ardor for virtue, may afford those animated with the same spirit, no unprofitable example. They are partly as follow:—

"I resolve to be extremely frugal, for some time, until I pay what I owe.

"To speak the truth in every instance, and give no one expectations that are not likely to be answered; but aim at sincerity in every word and action, the most amiable excellence in a rational being.

"To apply myself industriously in whatever business I take in hand, and not divert my mind by any foolish project of growing suddenly rich; for industry and patience are the surest means of plenty.

"I resolve to speak ill of no man whatever, not even in a matter of truth; but rather by some means excuse the faults I hear charged upon others, and upon proper occasions speak all the good I know of every body," &c.

To these resolutions, though formed in the ardor of youthful imagination, he adhered with a scrupulous fidelity.

Soon after his return to Philadelphia, he instituted another club, in connection with several young men of respectable character and abilities, denominated "The Junto," of which he has spoken in his memoirs with great affection. Subjects of a scientific, moral, or political cast, were discussed at their meetings. The association endured with undiminished vigor, for thirty years, and was at last succeeded by the present Philosophical Society.

It is a just remark, that the exigencies in which FRANKLIN had passed his early youth, and the expedients he was forced to adopt, that he might improve his fortune, drew him from all barren speculations towards those only which might tend to ameliorate the condition and happiness of his species. All his leading enterprises appear to have been undertaken with an eye to the public good, and even to minor affairs he gave the same tendency. To practice virtue, and disseminate it among mankind, he considered his duty wherever he went, and he allowed no common distraction of life to turn him from his laudable purpose. Like Lycurgus, he wished that the praise of virtue and contempt for vice should be interwoven with all the actions of men, and that excellent objects and actions should be perpetually before the gaze of the multitude. He carried this so far, as even to assist in making the common devices on coins, which are so constantly under our inspection, of a character to convey a prudential maxim; thus the old penny he caused to be impressed with the word "Fugio"—I fly; and on the reverse, "mind your own business."

His Poor Richard's Almanac he made the vehicle of conveying moral apothegms, precepts of economy, rules for the preservation of health, and such general principles of instruction as were most adapted to the purposes of common life. Of this Almanac ten thousand copies were circulated in America every year; this, considering the then limited population, sufficiently exhibits the estimation in which it was held. The last, 1757, in which he collected the principal matter of the preceding numbers, was republished in various forms in Great Britain, and thence translated into foreign languages, was dispersed and read with great avidity throughout the whole continent. An edition in a large folio volume has just been published in Paris in the highest style of typographical art, under the title of "Le Bon Homme Richard."

His efforts to diffuse literature, form libraries, &c., were the means of disseminating a taste for polite letters; reading became everywhere the fashionable amusement, spreading its influence even to the humble walks of life. This, in a republican state, is an object of importance, where some equality in the diffusion of intellectual, as well as physical benefits, is essential to the purity and permanence of political institutions.

His discoveries in electricity have been already noticed. It cannot be expected that we should here enumerate all the experiments he made, or the treatises he composed on the various branches of science;

for there is scarcely one that has not occupied some portion of his time and attention. He made use of oil to show its effects in stilling the waters of the ocean; he endeavored to ascertain whether boats are not drawn with more difficulty in small canals, than in large bodies of water; to improve the art of swimming, and to prove that thirst may be allayed by bathing in salt water. He made observations, also, in his several voyages, on the gradual progress of the north-east storms along the American coast, contrary to the direction of the winds; and likewise, for the benefit of navigation, made experiments on the course, velocity, and temperature of the gulf stream. He made also curious observations on the air; upon the relative powers of metals in the conducting of heat, and of the different degrees acquired by congenial bodies of various colors, from the rays of the sun. He composed likewise an ingenious treatise upon the formation of the earth, and the existence of an universal fluid; music, too, came in for a share of his grasping mind, and he cultivated that science with success. He revived and improved the harmonica, performing upon that instrument with taste.

It was a peculiarity which gave FRANKLIN a great advantage from his early youth, to have mingled business with study and speculation. He thus acquired theoretical and practical knowledge together, and was skilful in applying his information. Lord Kaimès was highly gratified to become his correspondent, from the delight he took in him as a philosopher; their friendship, formed in Europe, subsisted until the termination of their lives.

It is probable that in the first outbreak of difficulties with the mother country, FRANKLIN entertained no farther design than that of vindicating the constitutional liberties of his country, and that no ambition for her independence had at this time entered his imagination; he continued to still the angry passions which had been kindled by the operation of bad or over-bearing laws, till they were insupportable. He still kept up discussions with the parliament, and maintained some appearance of impartiality; but by the introduction of British troops into Boston, and the tumults and massacres occasioned by that measure; by all the proceedings, indeed, of the government subsequent to the repeal of the stamp act, he knew well that passions were inflamed too fierce and vengeful to be appeased by the application of gentle remedies. He observed, also, not only in the minds of those who were entrusted with the supreme management of affairs in England, but throughout the whole nation, that there prevailed a spirit of arrogance and contempt for Americans, or in the phraseology of the times, "the rebels of the colonies," which must have confirmed his opinions on that subject. Though he still recommended, in all his letters to the colonies, a moderation and decorum, that the ministry might have no pretext that might justify a more open violation of their liberties; there is, nevertheless, a strain of vehemence in all his writings of this period, which indicate that he was himself not less exasperated than his ardent countrymen at home.

During his long residence in England, he had been treated with all the rancor and malice, the resentful and unmanly arrogance, which power usually produces in ignoble minds. The worthy portion of the community, however, approved his various merits, and he has expressed in his letters, his gratification at the marks of attachment, friendship, generosity, and affectionate attention which he received.

On his voyage homewards, he had employed himself in philosophical speculations, and in writing a circumstantial detail of the whole of his public operations during his absence; this constitutes a very interesting portion of his biography published by his grandson, furnishing many conspicuous examples of his devotion to liberty, of his spirit and patriotism; and affords a specimen of those diplomatic talents which proved so beneficial to his country.

When appointed in 1776, with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to hear certain propositions of English commissioners who had arrived on our coast to propose terms of accommodation, or rather "offer pardon upon submission," to congress, Lord Howe, the chief of the embassy, endeavored to wheedle him by kind words into using his influence in promoting the great object of "the king's paternal solicitude." His reply was highly honorable to his patriotism and abilities; he insisted that directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who were the parties injured, expressed "that opinion of our baseness, ignorance, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments." He continues in a noble strain of independent sentiment, and concludes, "when you find reconciliation impossible on any terms given you to propose, I believe you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honorable private station."

When Dr. Franklin left America for France, he placed the whole of his possessions in money, between three and four thousand pounds, in the hands of congress, thus testifying his confidence in the success of their cause, and inducing others of greater means to imitate so laudable an example.

His colleagues, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, assisted materially to lighten his labors; advantages were gained by their joint exertions very far beyond what either in France or America had been anticipated; and if we may judge from the tenor of FRANKLIN'S letters, far beyond his own expectation. "Had it not been," says he, "for the justice of our cause, and the consequent interposition of Providence, in which we had faith, we must have been ruined. If I had ever before been an atheist, I should now have been convinced of the being and government of a Deity. It is he that abases the proud and elevates the humble; may we never forget his goodness, and may our future conduct manifest our gratitude."

In his treaties with Sweden and Prussia, Dr. FRANKLIN introduced an article highly honorable to his memory, and one which he had attempted in vain to add to his negotiations with Great Britain; it was the prohibiting from injuries of war, the property and persons of unarmed individuals. This principle has been acknowledged to a greater or less degree since by civilized nations, and may be dated in a measure to the influence of the subject of our biography.

A defensive war Dr. FRANKLIN thought justifiable, but he preferred peace whenever it could be obtained, provided it was honorable; nor was he without a hope that the interests of nations might prevail over the perversity of human nature, so far as to produce some alleviation of the calamities insuperably attendant upon warfare. "I hope," he says in one of his letters, "that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats; for in my opinion, there never was a good war, nor a bad peace. What vast additions to the convenience and comforts of living might we acquire, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility; what an extension of agriculture, even to tops of the mountains!" "When," says he to Dr. Priestley, "shall we make that discovery in moral philosophy, which will instruct men to compose their quarrels without bloodshed? When will men cease to be wolves to one another, and learn, that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who urgently commence them?"

On Dr. FRANKLIN'S return from France, he was attended at his landing by the members of congress, of the university, and by the principal citizens, who, formed into processions, went out to escort him; amidst their acclamations he was conducted to his dwelling. He received from public assemblies of every description, the most affectionate addresses; all testifying their gratitude for his services, and joy at his safe return. General Washington, in a public letter, greeted his arrival with the same grateful sentiments, and he says himself, "I am surrounded by friends, and have an affectionate good daughter and son-in-law to take care of me. I have got into my *niche*, a very good house, which I built twenty-four years ago, and out of which I have been ever since kept by foreign employments."

He continued in his retirement to ponder deeply on the condition of man, and to seek by every means in his power to promote the interest of his fellow creatures. Several of his writings at this period, and later, when entirely disabled from going abroad by his infirmities, are evidence of this fact. Many societies, the philosophical, of which he was president, that for political inquiries, for alleviating the miseries of public prisons, and for promoting the abolition of slavery, held their meetings at his house, to enjoy the benefit of his council.

When his death was known, congress ordered a general mourning for him throughout America, of one month. In France, the expression of public grief was highly flattering to his memory; there the event was solemnized under the direction of the municipality of Paris, by funeral orations; the national assembly decreed that each of the members should wear mourning for three days, "in commemoration of the event," and that a letter of condolence for the irreparable loss they had sustained, should be directed to the American congress. These were honors truly glorious, and such as were never before paid by any public body of one nation to a citizen of another.

In stature, FRANKLIN was above the middle size; manly, athletic, and gracefully proportioned. His countenance had an air of serenity and peace; the natural effect of conscious integrity. The harmony of the features is remarkable; seeming formed at once to excite love and veneration, command authority, or conciliate esteem. His mind was stored with knowledge, which he had a very happy manner of imparting, enlivening his conversation by ingenious illustrations, sprightly thoughts or pleasantry, winning even the morose. Amidst all the pageantry of European courts, where a large portion of his life was passed, as well as in the intercourse he kept up with the most fashionable society, he retained his republican dress and the simplicity of his manners, never showing any mean pride in concealing the humility of his birth.

Such was Dr. FRANKLIN. In estimating his character, much regard must be had to the times; and faults of education or habit may well be pardoned in one whose main design was undoubtedly good.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson was born on the 2d day of April, 1743, at Shadwell, in Albemarle county, Virginia. His ancestors had emigrated to that province at an early period; their standing in the community was highly respectable, and they lived in circumstances of considerable affluence. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a person much esteemed and well known; he had been one of the commissioners for determining the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina, and at his death he left his son an ample and unembarrassed fortune.

Thomas Jefferson was educated at the college of William and Mary, in Williamsburg, and, after distinguishing himself there, by his habits of patience and labor, became a student of law under the well known George Wythe, afterwards chancellor of the state of Virginia. On coming of age, he was admitted to the bar, appointed a justice of the peace for the county in which he lived, and, at the election following, chosen one of its representatives in the provincial legislature. His mind seems to have been imbued from his earliest youth with the most liberal political sentiments. On one of his seals, engraved about this time, the motto was "Ab eo libertas, à quo spiritus;" and on another, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." These feelings gained strength from the position of public affairs. From the year 1763, a spirit of opposition to the British government gradually rose in the province, until, in 1769, it assumed the shape of a formal resolution not to import articles from the mother country; this resolution Mr. **Jefferson** signed himself, and promoted with all his influence.

On the 1st of January, 1772, he married the daughter of Mr Wayles, an eminent lawyer of Virginia, and, in the amiable and accomplished character of the lady, secured that domestic happiness which his own disposition so well fitted him to enjoy. Its duration, however, was but short; in little more than ten years, death deprived him of his wife, and left him the sole guardian of two infant daughters, to whose education he devoted himself with a zeal that might compensate them for their untimely loss.

In the early part of 1773, the first organized system of colonial resistance was established by the formation of committees of correspondence in the different provinces. This plan was devised and arranged by Mr. JEFFERSON, who privately assembled some of the bolder spirits of the state, at a public house called the Raleigh tavern, in Richmond, and suggested it to them. It was eagerly adopted, and its benefits became strikingly apparent, when in the following year the measures of the British government showed the increased necessity of united and resolute resistance. The passage of the Boston port act, and the bills which immediately followed it, had filled up the measure of insult and oppression. At this crisis, not content with his labors, which were constant as a member of the legislature, he wrote and published "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." This he designed as an exposition, to be laid before the British sovereign, of the wrongs inflicted on America, and the sort of redress she would demand. "Open your breast, sire," he says, addressing the king, "to liberal and expanded thought. It behoves you to think and act for your people. The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to peruse them, requires not the aid of many counsellors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest." For this publication, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, threatened to prosecute him on a charge of high treason, and dissolved the legislature who had by their resolutions sustained the same doctrines. When the conciliatory propositions of the British ministry were sent out in the following year, the legislature was again assembled, and they were referred to a committee, who immediately presented a reply from the pen of Mr. JEFFERSON. This document, which is to be found in the histories of that period, has ever been considered as a state paper of the highest order; and it announced, in a great degree, the same sentiments as those which its author afterwards promulgated in the declaration of independence. It was hardly drawn up, when he was called to a wider scene. The colonies had determined to unite together, and send delegates to a general congress. In this body, then in session at Philadelphia, Mr. JEFFERSON took his seat on the 21st of June, 1775, and became immediately, what he always continued to be, one of its most distinguished members. In the following summer, the debates of congress, and the various expressions of public sentiment, showed that the time had arrived for a final and entire separation from Great Britain; and a committee was appointed to draft a declaration to that effect. Of this, Mr. JEFFERSON was the chairman, and prepared, in conformity to the instructions of congress, the declaration of independence, which, after a few alterations, was adopted on the 4th of July, 1776.

During the summer of this year, Mr. JEFFERSON took an active part in the public deliberations and business. Being obliged, however, in the autumn, to return to Virginia, he was during his absence appointed, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, a commissioner to the court of France, for the purpose of arranging with that nation a measure, now become of vital necessity, the formation of treaties of alliance and commerce. Owing to his ill health, the situation of his family, and the state of public affairs in his own state, he considered it more useful for him to remain in America, and therefore declined the appointment. He also, shortly afterwards, resigned his situation in congress, and, being elected to the first legislature assembled under the new constitution in Virginia, seized that favorable occasion to introduce changes and amendments in the laws and institutions, founded on the just and great principles of the social compact. He was supported by able coadjutors, it is true; but the leading and most important laws were prepared by him, and carried chiefly by his own efforts. The first of these measures was to introduce a bill preventing the importation of slaves; this he followed up by destroying entails, and abolishing the rights of primogeniture: the overthrow of the church establishment, which had been introduced in imitation of that of England, was a task of less ease, but effected at length by his continued efforts. To these four cardinal measures is to be added his labor in revising and reducing to system the various and irregular enactments of the colonial government and the mother country. It was, perhaps, the most severe of his public services. It consisted of a hundred and twenty-six bills, comprising and remodelling the whole statutory law; and, though not all enacted as he contemplated, so as to make a single and complete code, they have formed the admirable basis of the jurisprudence of Virginia.

In June, 1779, he was elected governor of Virginia, and reëlected the next year. This was a season of imminent peril: the state was invaded at once on the north and the south, ravaged by the troops of Tarleton and Arnold, and he himself made the object of particular pursuit. Amid all these difficulties, he conducted the affairs of the state with a prudence and energy, the more to be appreciated and honored, from the unpropitious circumstances under which they were displayed. The legislature, after the expiration of his term, passed a unanimous resolution expressing to him their thanks for his services, and their high opinion of his ability, rectitude, and integrity.

In June, 1783, Mr. JEFFERSON was again elected a delegate to congress from the state of Virginia, and, while in that body, was intrusted with preparing the beautiful address made by congress to General Washington, when he surrendered his commission, and took leave of public life. He was also the chairman of a committee appointed to form a plan for a temporary government in the vast territory yet unsettled, west of the mountains. Never forgetting his purpose, to provide for the ultimate emancipation of the negroes, he introduced a clause forbidding the existence of slavery in it, after the year 1800.

On the 7th of May, 1784, congress decided that a minister plenipotentiary should be appointed, in addition to Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, for the purpose of negotiating treaties of commerce. To this honorable office Mr. JEFFERSON was immediately elected, and in the month of July sailed for France, where he arrived on the 6th of August. He remained in Europe till the 23d of November, 1789, visiting, during that period, Holland, the northern parts of Italy, and the principal seaports on the southern and western coasts of France. He also crossed over to England, and endeavored, in concert with Mr. Adams, to effect a commercial treaty. Their efforts, however, were unavailing; and after a fruitless visit of seven weeks in London, he returned to Paris.

While Mr. JEFFERSON resided in France, he was engaged in many diplomatic negotiations of considerable importance to his own country. He induced the government to abolish several monopolies; he secured the free admission of tobacco, rice, whale-oil, salted fish, and flour; and he obtained the right of exporting the two latter articles to the West Indies. Among men of letters, science, and high political distinction, he was received with marked kindness, and soon regarded as no unworthy successor of the illustrious Franklin. The Abbé Morrellet translated his little work on Virginia; Condorcet and D'Alembert claimed him as their friend; and he was invited and welcomed among the literary institutions, and the most brilliant social assemblies of Paris. During the remainder of his stay there, he was an eye-witness too of the extraordinary occurrences in public affairs which took place in rapid succession. As the representative of a nation which had given a brilliant example of free institutions, he was himself an object of interest and attention to the actors in these new scenes. He was, from circumstances, much acquainted with the leading patriots of the national assembly, and they were naturally disposed to seek his advice, and place confidence in his opinions. These he never hesitated to avow, so far as his position, as a public functionary, admitted him with propriety to do. His stay did not extend to the fatal period which was marked by the horrible excesses of popular frenzy; and the interest he took in the French revolution was warmed by the hope that a noble people were to be redeemed from despotism to rational liberty.

In November, 1789, he obtained leave of absence, and returned to the United States on a temporary visit. He found the new federal government in operation, and, after some hesitation, accepted the office of secretary of state, which was offered him by General Washington, instead of returning, as he had intended, to his post of minister to France. Though absent when the constitution was adopted, he had seen too glaringly the inefficiency of the former imperfect confederation, not to rejoice at its formation. Of the great mass of it he approved, though there were points in which he thought there was not adequate security for individual rights. Most of these were afterwards provided for, in amendments ratified by the states. In his practical interpretations of that instrument, and the various powers it confers, he at once adopted the more popular view; and in the course of those political contests, which soon afterward arose on this subject, he became the head of the party which sustained it. While in the department of state, he laid down the great maxims relative to our foreign intercourse which were ever after regarded as the true ones by the American people. Among other negotiations he became especially engaged in one with the ministers from the French republic, which seriously involved the political rights of the United States, as a neutral nation, and led to the adoption and assertion of that policy, since so emphatically confirmed, of preserving peace, commerce, and friendship with all nations, but entering into entangling alliances with none. This correspondence forms one of the most important and interesting features in our political history, and while it laid down, on a solid basis, the foundations and rules of our foreign intercourse, it developed with great strength of argument nearly all the leading principles which ought to govern the conduct of a neutral nation. In devoting himself to those measures of domestic policy which were appropriate to his office, he called the attention of congress to one subject, the nature and importance of which not only demanded the exercise of his mature judgment, but required in its investigation that scientific knowledge which his studies had enabled him to acquire. This was a uniform system of currency, weights, and measures. His report abounds with the most enlightened views of this important practical subject, and it is only to be regretted that they were not adopted at that early period. If they had been, we should long ere this have been relieved from the incongruities of a system made by custom every day worse. Mr. Jefferson also presented to congress an elaborate and valuable memoir on the subject of the cod and whale fisheries, and he recommended many measures judiciously adapted to defeat the efforts of foreign governments against our increasing commerce, and to open new markets for our enterprise. His last act as secretary of state was a report on the nature and extent of the privileges and restrictions of the commercial intercourse of the United States with other countries, and on the best means of counteracting them. This document displayed much ability, and attracted great attention. It gave rise to one of the longest and most interesting discussions which have ever agitated the national legislature. It was the foundation of a series of resolutions, proposed by Mr. Madison, sanctioning the views it embraced; and it became in fact the ostensible subject whereon the federal and republican parties distinctly arrayed themselves against each other.

On the 31st of December, 1793, Mr. Jefferson resigned his office, and retired to private life. He there devoted himself to the education of his family, the cultivation of his estate, and the pursuit of his philosophical studies, which he had so long abandoned, and to which he returned with new ardor. The Duke de Liancourt, a French gentleman travelling at that time through the United States, visited him at Monticello, and has given a pleasing narrative of the manner in which the life of the retired statesman was past. "His conversation," he says, "is of the most agreeable kind, and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to any other man. In Europe he would hold a distinguished rank among men of letters, and as such he has already appeared there. At present he is employed with activity and perseverance in the management of his farms and buildings; and he orders, directs, and pursues in the minutest detail, every branch of business relating to them. I found him in the midst of harvest, from which the scorching heat of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and treated as well as white servants could be. Every article is made on his farm; his negroes being cabinet-makers, carpenters, and masons. The children he employs in a nail manufactory; and the young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them all by rewards and distinctions. In fine, his superior mind directs the management of his domestic concerns with the same abilities, activity, and regularity, which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to display in every situation of life." It was at this period of his retirement, that he received a testimony of his merits with which he was peculiarly gratified. He was unanimously elected president of the American Philosophical Society, the oldest and most distinguished institution of the kind in the United States. The chair had been filled, first by the illustrious Franklin, and since by Rittenhouse, one of the ablest astronomers of the age. To be chosen as their successor, was an honor to which Mr. JEFFERSON could not be insensible; and during the long period that he presided over the society, he repaid their compliment by promoting the cause of science with constant zeal, and extending to it all the advantages which his public rank and private connections enabled him to afford.

Mr. JEFFERSON was not, however, long permitted by his countrymen to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement. In the month of September, 1796, General Washington, in his farewell address, made known to the people his wish not to be again a candidate for the presidency. The two parties which, as has been observed, had gradually grown up in the republic, no longer able to unite, as in the case of Washington, on a single individual to whom both were willing to confide the administration of public affairs, now determined each to support a candidate, whose political opinions were entirely congenial with their own. Mr. JEFFERSON was selected by the democratic party; Mr. Adams by the federalists; and on counting the votes, the highest number appearing in favor of the latter, he was declared president, and the former vice-president. During the succeeding four years, the public duties of Mr. JEFFERSON did not, from the nature of his office, require much personal exertion; and the greater part of his time was passed tranquilly at Monticello. When the period for another election arrived, however, he was again called forward as the popular candidate in opposition to Mr. Adams, and with more success than on the preceding occasion. Yet an accident went near to defeat the acknowledged wishes and intentions of the people. The democratic party had elected Mr. JEFFERSON as president, and Mr. Burr as vice-president, by an equal number of votes; but as the constitution required no specification of the respective office for which each was chosen, they came before congress, neither having the majority necessary by law. Under these circumstances, the election devolved upon the house of representatives, and the opponents of Mr. JEFFERSON, taking advantage of the occurrence, threw their votes into the scale of

Mr. Burr. This led to a protracted and most exciting contest. At length, after thirty-five ineffectual ballots, one of the representatives of the state of Maryland made public the contents of a letter to himself, written by Mr. Burr, in which he declined all pretensions to the presidency, and authorised him, in his name, to disclaim any competition with Mr. JEFFERSON. On this specific declaration, two federal members who represented states which had before voted blank, withdrew; this permitted the republican members from those states to become a majority, and instead of putting a blank into the box to vote positively for Mr. JEFFERSON. On the thirty-sixth ballot, therefore, he was elected president, and Mr. Burr vice-president.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Mr. JEFFERSON entered on his first presidential term. In his inaugural address, delivered on that day in the presence of both houses of congress, he stated, with great eloquence of language and with admirable clearness and precision, the political principles by which he intended to be governed in the administration of public affairs. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public opinion; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of the person under the protection of the *habeas corpus;* and trials by juries impartially selected. "These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. To the attainment of them," he concludes, "have been devoted the wisdom of our sages, and the blood of our heroes; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust: and, should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

The administration of Mr. Jefferson embraces a long and interesting period in the history of our country, distinguished by important measures, whose consequences have been felt in later periods, and which have led to results affecting, in no inconsiderable degree, the honor and prosperity of the nation. They are subjects demanding the research and deliberation of the historian; we can here briefly allude only to their more prominent and general features. The system of foreign policy which he adopted, tended to increase our prosperity, and secure our rights. The aggressions of the Tripolitans were gallantly and promptly chastised, and the attempts made by the agents of the Spanish government, to deprive us of the right of navigating the Mississippi, were immediately noticed and repelled. Mr. Jefferson, while secretary of state, directed his attention particularly to secure to the inhabitants of the western country every advantage for their trade; but it had, notwithstanding, been constantly invaded. His renewed efforts resulted, after considerable negotiation, in the purchase of the vast territory known as Louisiana. This fortunate acquisition secured an independent outlet for the western states, and placed under the republican institutions of America a region whose fertility, climate, and extent have already afforded a large and increasing revenue, as well as a field for the wide diffusion of the blessings of freedom and equal laws. During the same interval, the internal policy of the United States underwent several important changes. Measures were adopted for the speedy discharge of the public debt; the judiciary system was restored to the original plan, founded by those who formed the constitution; a salutary reduction was introduced into the habitual expenditures of the government; offices tending to increase executive influence were voluntarily suppressed; and the president presented the noble spectacle of a chief magistrate relinquishing power and patronage, where he could do so, by existing laws, and where he could not, seeking the aid of the legislature for the same honorable purpose.

So much was the administration of Mr. Jefferson approved, that, when his term of service expired, he was again elected, and by a majority which had increased from eight votes to one hundred and forty-eight. In his inaugural address, delivered on the 4th of March, 1805, he asserted his determination to act up to those principles, on which he believed it his duty to administer the affairs of the commonwealth, and which had been already sanctioned by the unequivocal approbation of his country. "I do not fear," he said, "that any motives of interest may lead me astray; I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of justice; but the weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding, will produce errors of judgment sometimes injurious to your interests. I shall need, therefore, all the indulgence I have heretofore experienced; the want of it will certainly not lessen with increasing years. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence, and our riper years with his wisdom and power." He had scarcely entered on his office when an event occurred, threatening seriously the domestic tranquillity of the country, and even the constitution and the union itself. This was the conspiracy of Colonel Burr, who, ardent and ambitious, formerly disappointed in reaching the first office of the government, when it seemed within his grasp, and since superseded in the second by the election of Mr. Clinton, now aimed, by desperate enterprise, either to establish a new republic in the Spanish provinces of the west, or to divide that of his own country. His scheme was discovered, and he was himself eventually apprehended and tried for treason. The evidence was not sufficient to establish his presence at the illegal assemblages which were proved, or the use of any force against the authority of the United States, in consequence of which he was acquitted.

The foreign relations of the United States, however, at this period assumed an importance exceeding all domestic affairs. Nearly the whole of their revenue depended on commerce; this, in the war between France and Great Britain, had sustained from both powers the most severe and unprincipled aggressions, and to these there were added, especially in the proceedings of the latter nation, circumstances so aggravated as to leave the American nation no honorable course, but that of prompt retaliation. Under ordinary circumstances, the natural and just resort would have been to war; but the government, interests, and situation of America required the trial and failure of every other alternative before that was adopted. An embargo presented itself as a measure, if not decisive, at least preparatory; and on the 22d of December, 1807, an act of congress establishing one was passed, on the recommendation of Mr. Jefferson. At first this measure appeared to promise a successful result. In January, 1809, after it had existed a year, overtures were made by the British government, which indicated a disposition on their part to recede from the ground they had taken; and these were preceded by the repeal of some of their most objectionable measures. In this situation were the foreign relations of the United States, when Mr. Jefferson's second term of office expired, and when he retired from the elevated position in which his countrymen had placed him. To trace this subject further, therefore, belongs to general history, and to the political biography of his successor, who had been early his pupil, and afterwards his friend and political supporter.

On the 3d of March, 1809, Mr. Jefferson closed his political career; he had reached the age of sixty-five; he had been engaged, almost without interruption, for forty years, in the most arduous public duties; he had passed through the various stations to which his country had called him with unsullied honor and distinguished reputation; and he now, therefore, determined to leave the scene, while yet unoppressed by the infirmities of age, and to pass the evening of his life in the calmness of domestic and philosophical retirement. From this time until his death, with the exception of excursions which business required, he resided altogether at Monticello. He indeed appeared occasionally before his countrymen, by publications of his private correspondence, which proved the same purity of intention, the same earnest zeal in the promotion of liberal opinions, and the same intelligence, forethought, and firmness, which distinguished the actions of his earlier life. He was called forward, from time to time, by repeated requests to connect himself with rising institutions, constantly forming to promote science, taste, and literature; for it was a subject of natural and honorable pride, to unite with these a name always distinguished for attention to whatever improved or adorned human life. Above all, he was sought out in his retirement by strangers from every foreign nation who had heard of and admired him; and by the natives of every corner of his own country, who looked upon him as their guide, philosopher, and friend. His home was the abode of hospitality and the seat of dignified retirement; he forgot the busy times of his political existence, in the calm and congenial pleasures of science; his mind, clear and penetrating, wandered with fresh activity and delight through all the regions of thought; his heart dwelt with the deepest interest on every thing that tended to the improvement and happiness of mankind; at once practical, benevolent, and wise, he was forever studying the welfare of his fellow-creatures, and endeavoring to advance every plan which tended to produce or increase it. Among these labors, the most prominent perhaps was his effort for the improvement of education in Virginia, and the establishment of a noble university, which was commenced by his own private donations and those he could obtain from his friends. This became the object of his greatest zeal, during the remainder of his life. He presented to the legislature a report embracing the principles on which it was proposed the institution should be formed. The situation selected for the university was at Charlottesville, a town at the foot of the mountain, where he resided. The plan was such as to combine elegance and utility, with the power of enlarging it to any extent, which its future prosperity might require. The instruction was to embrace the various branches of learning which a citizen may require, in his intercourse between man and man, in the improvement of his morals and faculties, and in the knowledge and exercise of his social rights. The various arrangements for the conduct of the institution were framed with a view to a liberal system of discipline, and a strict accountability on the part of all connected with the institution. The legislature approved of Mr. JEFFERSON'S plans; he was himself elected the rector; and from that period he devoted himself to carry into effect what he had thus designed. All his hopes and thoughts were turned towards its success. He rode every morning when the weather would permit, to inspect its progress; he prepared with his own hands the drawings for the workmen; he stood over them as they proceeded, with a sort of parental anxiety and care; and when the inclemency of the season or the infirmity of age prevented his visits, a telescope was placed on a terrace near his house, by means of which he could inspect the progress of the work. After its completion, he might often be seen pacing slowly along the porticoes or cloisters which extended in front of the dormitories of the students, occasionally conversing with them, and viewing the establishment with a natural and honorable pride. In the library, a catalogue written by himself is carefully preserved. He has collected the names, best editions, and value of all works of whatever language, in literature and science, which he thought necessary to form a complete library; and, in examining it, one is really less struck with the research and various knowledge required for its compilation, than the additional proof of that anxious care, which seemed to leave unsought no means of fostering and improving the institution he had formed.

Thus glided on the evening of Mr. JEFFERSON's patriotic and benevolent life; as age wore gradually away the energies of his body, his mind shone with intelligence undiminished; and his efforts and desires for the progress of human happiness and knowledge, knew no change. Years, however, had crowded upon him; and when the increase of infirmities at length prevented him leaving his chamber, he remarked to the physician, who sought to assist him by the aid of his art, that "the machine had worn out, and could go on no longer." During the spring of 1826, he had suffered from increasing debility, but it was not until the 26th of June, that he was obliged to confine himself to his bed. The strength of his constitution and freedom from bodily pain for a short time encouraged the hope, that this confinement would be only temporary; but his own conversation showed that he did not himself so regard it. "Do not imagine," he said to those around him, "that I feel the smallest solicitude as to the result. I do not indeed wish to die, but I do not fear to die." His temper retained all its usual cheerfulness and equanimity; his only anxiety seemed to be for the prosperity of the university, and he expressed strongly his hopes that the state would not abandon it; he declared that if he could see that child of his old age fairly flourishing, he was ready to depart—to say "nunc dimittis domine," a favorite quotation with him. On the 2d of July, he appeared free from disease, but his weakness was such, that his physicians expressed a doubt whether his strength would prove sufficient to restore him. Conscious himself that he could not recover, and without any bodily or apparently mental pain, he calmly gave directions relative to his interment, which he requested might be at Monticello without parade or pomp; he then called his family around him, and conversed separately with each of them; to his beloved daughter, Mrs. Randolph, he presented a small morocco case, which he requested her not to open till after his death; when the sad limitation had expired, it was found to contain an affectionate poetical tribute to the virtues of her from whom he was thus torn away; he desired, if any inscription were placed on his tomb, he should be described only as "the author of the declaration of independence, of the statutes of Virginia for religious freedom, and the father of the university." On Monday, the following day, he inquired of those around him with much solicitude, what was the day of the month; they told him it was the 3d of July; he then eagerly expressed his desire that he might be permitted to live to another day, to breathe the air of the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of independence. His wish was granted: the morning of the 4th of July, 1826, found him still living; and after declaring himself gratified by the affectionate solicitude of his family and servants, and having distinctly articulated these words, "I resign myself to my God, and my child to my country," he gradually expired without a murmur or a groan.

At the time of his death, Mr. JEFFERSON had reached the age of eighty-three years, two months, and twenty-one days. In person he was six feet two inches high, erect and well formed, though thin; his eyes were light and full of intelligence; his hair was very abundant, and originally of a yellowish red, though in his latter years silvered with age; his complexion was fair, his forehead broad, and the whole face square and expressive of deep thinking; his countenance was remarkably intelligent and open as day, its general expression full of good-will and kindness, and, when the occasion excited it, beaming with enthusiasm; his address was cordial, confirming the welcome of his lips; his motions were flexible and easy, his step firm and sprightly; and such were his strength and agility, that he was accustomed, in the society of children, of which he was fond, to practise feats that few could imitate. His manner was simple, mingled with native dignity, but cheerful, unassuming, frank, and kind; his language was remarkable for vivacity and correctness; and in his conversation, which was without apparent effort, he poured forth knowledge the most various from an exhaustless fountain, yet so modestly, and so engagingly, that he seemed rather to seek than to impart information.

In his disposition he was full of liberality and benevolence; of this the neighborhood of Monticello affords innumerable monuments, and, on his own estate, such was the condition of his slaves, that in their comforts his own interests were too often entirely forgotten. Among his neighbors he was esteemed and beloved in an uncommon degree, and his sentiments and opinions were regarded by them with extreme respect, the reward rather of his private worth than of his public services. His kindness had no limits; he omitted nothing in his power to alleviate distress. On one occasion, when president, passing on horseback a stream in Virginia, he was accosted by a feeble beggar, who implored his aid to help him across; without hesitation he carried him over behind him, and, on the beggar telling him he had neglected his wallet, he as good-humoredly recrossed the stream, and brought it to him. When the British and German prisoners, taken at Saratoga, were quartered in his neighborhood, he treated them with marked kinndess; he enlisted the benevolent dispositions of the neighborhood to supply their wants, obtain provisions, and secure their habitations against the inclemency of the season; and to the officers he threw open his library, and offered all the hospitalities of Monticello. On leaving Virginia, they wrote him letters conveying the warmest gratitude; and when he subsequently visited Germany, many of these grateful men flocked around him, loading him with respect and affection.

In his temper he displayed the greatest equanimity: his oldest friends have remarked that they never beheld him give way to passion; and he treated his family and domestics with unvarying gentleness. Even during the exciting political contests in which he was so prominent an actor, he never displayed personal enmity, or used his influence or power with an angry or vindictive spirit. When the celebrated traveller, Humboldt, was once visiting him, he saw a newspaper lying on his table, containing a slanderous and acrimonious attack; pointing it out to Mr. JEFFERSON, he said "why do you not hang the man?" "Put the paper in your pocket," replied the president with a smile, "and on your return to your own country, if any one doubts the freedom of our press, show it to him, and tell him where you found it." Even at the period when his elevation to the chief magistracy was contested with so much violence, he says, in a letter to Governor Henry, of Maryland, a political opponent, "I feel extraordinary gratification in addressing this letter to you, with whom shades of difference in political sentiment have not prevented the interchange of good opinion, nor cut off the friendly offices of society. This political tolerance is the more valued by me, who consider social harmony as the first of human felicities, and the happiest moments those which are given to the effusions of the heart." His attachment, indeed, to his friends was warm and unvarying; he imparted to them, with unstudied and fearless confidence, all that he thought and felt; he entertained no ungenerous caution or distrust, and he had his reward in that firm support, which he received and had a right to expect from them, in every exigency.

The domestic habits of Mr. JEFFERSON were quite simple. His application was constant and excessive. He always rose very early; to a remark once made to him of surprise at his being able, amidst the numerous interruptions to which his public station exposed him, to transact his business, he replied, "I have made it a rule never to let the sun rise before me, and before I have breakfasted, to transact all the business called for by the day." His habits were so exact, that in a cabinet abounding with papers, each one was so labelled and arranged as to be immediately found. After his retirement from public life, he maintained a correspondence wonderfully extensive. He usually rode every day for an hour or two, and continued to do so until a very short period before his death; and though he retired early, his afternoons were, to the last, devoted to study, as his evenings were to his family circle.

H. D. G.

JOHN HANCOCK.

This illustrious patriot, than whom perhaps not one of all his contemporaries enjoyed in his time, a higher place in the consideration of the American community, was born within the precincts of the pleasant town of Quincy, a place which has had the honor of furnishing, not only two of the seven chief magistrates of the Union, but no small number also of other remarkable men, well and favorably distinguished in the history of their native land. Quincy was, at the time of Hancock's birth, in the year 1737, a part of the large and ancient town of Braintree, (which comprised likewise the modern territory of the same name, together with a part of the township of Randolph, in addition to Quincy;) and hence the apparent inconsistency in the statements of different writers who have noticed the life of the subject of this memoir.

The grandfather and the father of Hancock were both clergymen, and men of very considerable reputation. The former resided for half a century at Lexington, in the county of Middlesex; a spot which subsequently became hallowed ground, in conjunction with Concord, the adjoining town, by having witnessed the first battle of the American revolution, and where the writer has seen within the current year, in the wood-work of the old houses around the green, which "still stand as they stood that day," the traces of bullets discharged at our militia men from the guns of the advancing enemy.

The father of Hancock, of the same name with himself, has received no little eulogy for the services which he rendered to the cause of learning, as well as religion, in his native province. One of the brothers of this gentleman, however, is still better known by merits of a similar discription, as well as by the recommendation of having elevated himself from an humble and obscure condition of life, by his industry, intelligence, and energy, to the rank of the most eminent merchant in the northern states. He was for several years honored with high situations in the political departments of the province; and what is more to his lasting praise, he appropriated a liberal portion of his well earned revenue to the establishment of a professorship in Harvard University, and to the increase of the library of that institution, where his name, in golden letters, may be seen to this day over one of the alcoves.

At this seminary — now become so celebrated for the great names it has introduced to the history of the country, and still more the subject of public regard, in the period of HANCOCK's youth, as not only the oldest, but far the most learned and most amply endowed literary institution among us — the subject of our memoir received, under the charge of the paternal uncle just mentioned, his collegiate education. His father had deceased during his infancy, and he was thus, perhaps not very unfortunately, cast upon the kindness of a relative who seems to have been as cheerfully disposed, and as well qualified, as he was abundantly able by his means at command, to bestow on his young *protégé*, all the expense and exertion which were deemed subservient to his comfort and promotion.

He was graduated at Harvard, in the year 1754, at the early age of seventeen. With what honors he came off at his commencement, or what reputation as a scholar he acquired, during his course of study in the institution, we are not now enabled to ascertain; but the intelligence, as well as the ambition and the application, which he afterwards manifested on frequent occasions of as much interest to his countrymen as to himself, give us reason to believe that his character must have received at this early period, no inconsiderable weight from the development of the same virtues and powers that finally raised him to the highest place in the confidence of the American people.

That the indistinct and incomplete account which has reached us of this portion of his career, supplies no glowing description of any precocious and prodigious display of genius on the part of the youthful aspirant, is a mischance which other great men have participated with himself; and on the other hand, the assertion advanced by occasional writers, that his college career was passed chiefly in indolent insignificance, or at best in mediocre regularity, is believed to be without the slightest foundation in truth, as it is in proof. He who searches, at this day, among the documents of HANCOCK's own time, and especially of the period of his political advancement, for the opinions which his contemporaries entertained, or professed to entertain, in regard to his true character, must cautiously discriminate between the statements of indifferent testimony, and the aspersions of rancorous political rivals and foes. The remark applies to the case before us, with perhaps scarcely less force than to those of even Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton themselves. No statesman in this country, of however exalted renown, has been so fortunate as to receive the reward of his patriotism at the hands of the public, without a mixture of bitter accusation and violent attack, blended therewith, from time to time, quite sufficient to satisfy the most inordinate appetite for the excitement of popular contest. In this connexion it is well observed, too, by Sanderson, that the imputation of dulness, and even of stupidity has been attached, during the rudiments of their education, to some of the brightest ornaments of literature; and many have excited the admiration of the world by a youthful pregnancy of genius, whose names have perished before the hour of parturition.

For six years subsequent to the conclusion of his academical course, HANCOCK was engaged most of his time as a clerk in the counting-house of his uncle, who was then at the height of his commercial prosperity. In 1760 he visited the mother country, and during that period was present at the funeral of George II., and the coronation of his successor—a monarch with the principles and policy of whose administration he then little anticipated the serious conflict which subsequently occurred.

After his return to his own country, at the age of twenty-seven, the decease of his uncle put him, by the will of that generous patron, in possession of a munificent fortune, reputed to have been the most ample property held by any individual in the province, and probably little inferior to any other American estate.

This accidental and fortunate advantage, though it has never been pretended that the proprietor used it with other than a spirit of the most noble liberality, proved, under circumstances which have been already alluded to, another fruitful occasion of ungenerous remarks upon his conduct and motives. It certainly enabled him to live in a style which differed materially from that adopted by his great rival, Samuel Adams. The latter was in moderate circumstances, and was obliged to conform in his manners and habits to the somewhat severe republicanism of the times. But HANCOCK had been educated in the home of elegant hospitality, and his revenue was abundantly adequate to the gratification of the most liberal taste. He kept a splendid equipage, riding, upon public occasions at least, with servants in livery, and six beautiful bays, while his apparel was sumptuously embroidered with gold or silver lace, and all the other fashionable decorations of the day. He was fond, also, in later life, of dancing, music, concerts, routs, assemblies, card parties, rich wines, social dinners, and festivities of every description, which he supposed unobjectionable, and which were popular with a very considerable class of the population of Boston.

We come now to the consideration of the political career of Mr. Hancock, and it cannot fail to be the most obvious inference from such a review, that whatever might be the bitterness of individual opponents at different periods, and although his popularity with even the mass of his fellow citizens was occasionally, in times of high excitement, subject to eclipse, yet, on the whole, few men who have lived in this country, at any stage in its history, have enjoyed a more substantial share of political promotion or popular favor.

He was elected one of the selectmen of Boston soon after his return from England, and continued to hold that office for several years. In 1766, he was chosen, with James Otis, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Cushing, a representative to the general assembly of the province. There was at this time, as the city papers of the date above named sufficiently indicate, a good deal of excitement stirred up in the public mind relating to the measures of the British government; and this circumstance, not less than the company with whom he was associated in his office, plainly prove the high degree of confidence already reposed in both his integrity and his talents. He is said to have been somewhat indebted, for his early advancement, to the kindly offices of Samuel Adams, a gentleman with whom he subsequently found occasion to differ in political sentiment on several occasions, but it is believed not to the disparagement of the mutual respect of the parties.

In the assembly, Mr. Hancock, though but thirty years of age, was immediately placed in the foremost rank of the leading and working men, being not only nominated to most of the important committees of that respectable body, but upon more than one occasion of great and general interest, appointed to the chairmanship over associates of high reputation.

In the impositions attempted by the British government, in regard to the importation of foreign merchandise into this country, Mr.

Hancock took an early and strong interest; and probably no individual was more active than himself in instituting those memorable associations of the citizens for the purpose of preventing the introduction and circulation of English goods, which so materially contributed not only to ward off some of the encroachments of tyranny, but to awaken the attention of the American people to a discussion and decision on the whole subject of monarchical and ministerial abuse. His name was brought more particularly before the public, in the course of this controversy, by the seizure of one of his vessels, by the custom-house officers, under the pretext of its being taken in contravention of the revenue laws. It was removed by the officers under the protection of the guns of a British vessel then in the harbor. The citizens, however, were exasperated by this proceeding, and they assembled in great numbers, pursued them, beat them with clubs, and drove them aboard their vessels. The collector's boat was then burned by the mob, in the midst of loud rejoicings, and the houses of some of the most odious of the supporters of "divine right," razed, in the first transport of popular fury, to the ground. This affair, trifling as it may seem, has been considered as among the principal of those immediate original causes or occasions, which hastened the great dispute between the mother country and the provinces to a crisis.

Another incident of still greater interest, tending to the same effect, was the celebrated massacre of the Boston citizens, by the British troops, on the 5th of March, 1770. Probably the excitement produced by that bloody affair was and is altogether unprecedented in the history of the city. The bells were tolled, and the streets filled with the population of all the neighboring towns; and it was only by the judicious withdrawal of the offenders at a seasonable juncture, and the energetic interposition of some of the popular leaders, that matters failed of being precipitated to the utmost verge of frenzy. Mr. Hancock, with several others, was the next day appointed, by an assembly of the citizens, to wait on the royal governor and procure of him the removal of the troops from the town. The proposition was evaded at first, but subsequently urged in such a manner as to effect the prompt execution of the object desired by the people. Mr. Hancock was called on, in 1774, to deliver an oration on the anniversary of the massacre, over the remains of the murdered victims of tyranny. This composition, which increased even the author's established reputation, is still preserved, and is justly considered, though not remarkable for any thing like a learned or classic taste, a fine specimen of indignant patriotism, expressed in the fiery phraseology of a fearless freeman. It was about this time that he declined accepting the appointment of counsellor by the governor, and this indignity, as the latter considered it, was followed by his removal from the captaincy of the cadets, or governor's guard, by General Gage. The company disbanded themselves on that occasion, and the whole affair added to his popularity with every class of the people. Several years before he had manifested a similar spirit, on being offered a military commission by Governor Bernard. At that time he tore up the paper in presence of his fellow citizens.

In October, 1774, Mr. Hancock, now but thirty-seven years of age, was elected president of the Massachusetts provincial convention, by an unanimous vote. The next year, the first of the revolution, found him at the acmé of his political distinction, in the honorable station of president of the continental congress. Sanderson correctly remarks, in reference to this appointment, that "by his long experience in business as *moderator* of the town meetings, and presiding officer and speaker of the provincial assemblies, during times of great turbulence and commotion, he was eminently qualified, as well as by his natural dignity of manners, to preside in this great council of the nation." The officer elect is reported to have received the announcement of his election with evident symptoms of embarrassment—a sensation creditable at least to his modesty—but being conducted to the chair by the friendly arm of a southern member, he soon recovered his usual composure.

He held the presidency until October of the year 1777, a period of about two and a half years, during which the incessant application he gave to business had rendered his health somewhat precarious. This consideration induced him to resign his office, and he retired to his native province, attended by most gratifying testimonials of the universal respect of his countrymen.

But his fellow citizens did not suffer him to remain long in the quietude of private life. A convention was about this time appointed to frame a constitution for the state of Massachusetts; to this he was elected; and he took, as usual, an active part in the deliberations of that important occasion. In 1780 he was chosen governor, being the first under the new constitution. He continued to hold the office, annually, by the suffrages of the people, till 1785, when he resigned; owing, as was stated, to the condition of his health, though his enemies failed not to assert that his purpose was rather to escape the troubles of that stormy period, which finally resulted in the famous insurrection of Shays. However this might be, the people appear to have been satisfied with his reasons and his administration, for in 1787 he was again called from his retirement to the gubernatorial dignity, and he continued to fill that station successively and very acceptably till his death, which occurred in October, 1793, in his fifty-sixth year. Mr. Sanderson gives him the credit of directing the suppression of Shays' rebellion, during the latter term of his office; but this praise belongs justly to Mr. Bowdoin, who was governor during the two years of HANCOCK's retirement, and when the troubles in question were at their height.

The great reputation acquired by the subject of our memoir among his own countrymen at the period when the revolution broke out, cannot be better proved than by the importance attached to his patriotism by the enemy, who perhaps had a particular ill will against him from the connexion of his signature, (alone, in the first instance,) as president of the continental congress, to the memorable declaration of independence, issued by that body on the 4th of July, 1776. A year previous to this, however, he had the honor of being pointed out, in conjunction with that other "notorious offender," Samuel Adams, as an exception to the pardon offered by the royal governor of Massachusetts, in the proclamation, declaring the province in a state of rebellion, which he issued after the battle of Bunker Hill. It was even intimated, that the chief purpose of the expedition, sent on the 19th of April to Lexington, was to obtain possession of the persons of these two obnoxious compatriots—*par nobile fratrum.*

To the adoption of the federal constitution by the state of Massachusetts—a most important event, which occurred in 1788, no individual probably contributed so much as HANCOCK; and it was generally believed, at the time when he submitted that instrument to the consideration of the legislature, that if this state refused to ratify it, the passage of it would infallibly be lost in the other twelve. A convention assembled in Boston, to consider the question of acceptance, and of that large and highly respectable body, comprising all the distinguished talent of the state—not excepting Fisher Ames, Rufus King, Judges Cushing, Parsons, Dana, and Sedgwick, General Lincoln, Gore, Brooks, Strong, and many others, HANCOCK was chosen president. Sickness compelled him to leave his seat during part of the debates, but he returned to it in the last week of the session, and it is said that his great influence, exerted with his utmost discretion and energy at this juncture, especially in pressing sundry amendments, which obviated the exceptionable features of the proposed code, finally turned the scale in favor of the adoption, It succeeded, after all, by a majority of only nineteen votes, out of three hundred and fifty-five. This event was celebrated in Boston with great rejoicings, and was hailed with satisfaction throughout the country.

The funeral obsequies of Governor Hancock were observed in a manner which plainly indicated the strong hold he continued, till the last, to have on the popular good will. His body lay in state at his mansion for several days, and the interment of it was conducted with great ceremony. The militia of both the town and the surrounding country were called out, and the judges of the supreme court joined the immense procession, which followed the remains to their last resting place, in robes of mourning hue. The disease from which the governor had suffered most in his latter years, was the gout, but his decease was probably occasioned not more by this cause, than by the fatigue of the laborious and responsible public duties to which his whole time and thought seemed to be directed.

Governor Hancock left no lineal descendant. He had married, about twenty years before his death, Miss Quincy, of Boston, (who belonged to one of the most distinguished families of New England,) and by this connexion, had one son, but this child died at an early age.

The public character of the great man whose life we have thus imperfectly set forth, appears from the facts therein comprised much more clearly than any dissertation of ours could exhibit it. His private reputation, on the other hand, was not only free from serious reproach, even in the most excited times, but at all periods of his career, maintained in a rank worthy even of his political popularity. The diffusive liberality, with which he dispensed around him the benefits of his splendid wealth, was especially the subject of admiration. Nor did he ever hesitate, when patriotism called upon him, to sacrifice any thing he possessed for his country's good;—when, for example, in 1775, it was proposed by the American officers, who carried on the siege of Boston, to bombard and destroy the town that the enemy might be driven out, Hancock, whose whole property was thus exposed to destruction, was among the foremost to require that no regard to his personal interest should obstruct the operations of the army.

The author of "Familiar Letters on Public Characters," generally understood to be a gentleman who was personally acquainted with most of the great men of the period of HANCOCK's official life, describes the appearance of the governor in 1782, when, it is said, though but forty-five years old, he wore very much the aspect of advanced age. He is said to have been nearly six feet in stature, of thin person, stooping a little, and apparently enfeebled by disease. "His manners were very gracious, of the old style, of dignified complaisance. His face had been very handsome. His dress was adapted quite as much to be ornamental as useful.* Gentlemen wore wigs when abroad, and commonly caps when at home. At this time, (June,) about noon, HANCOCK was dressed in a red velvet cap, within which was one of fine linen, the latter was turned up over the lower edge of the velvet one, two or three inches. He wore a blue damask gown, lined with silk; a white stock, a white satin embroidered waistcoat, black satin small clothes, white silk stockings, and red morocco slippers. It was a general practice in genteel families to have a tankard of punch made in the morning, and placed in a cooler when the season required it. Visiters were invited to partake of it. At this visit HANCOCK took from the cooler, standing on the hearth, a full tankard, and drank first himself, and then offered it to those present. At his table might be seen all classes, from grave and dignified clergy, down to the gifted in song, narration, anecdote, and wit, with whom 'noiseless falls the foot of time, that only treads on flowers.'"

To acknowledge that the governor had his faults and his foibles, is but to allow that he was human. Among the latter, perhaps, was two scrupulous a stickling for etiquette on some occasions, and on others, a somewhat haughty preference of his own mere will and wisdom to those of parties who were, by their situation at least, entitled to respect, if not to concession. The author of the "Letters" mentions that when President Washington visited the Eastern states, in 1789, HANCOCK took the ground, that as the representative of state sovereignty in his own dominion, he was to be visited *first*, even by the chief magistrate of the Union. This the president was given to understand, but he did not deem it proper. Written communications ensued. Washington finally refused to see HANCOCK except at the residence of the former, (corner of Court and Tremont streets.) The Governor at length yielded, and on the third or fourth day, went in his coach, enveloped in red baize, to the president's lodgings, where he was borne in the arms of servants into the house. The delay was by the public imputed to his debility.

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* The writer recollects to have heard it stated by an orator in Fanueil Hall, on an occasion when the sentiments and character of HANCOCK came under discussion, that he was at one time in the habit of wearing gold buttons with the figure of a *sheep* engraved on them, under the motto, "you gain more by our lives than our deaths." It was no doubt a political allusion.

JOHN JAY.

The revocation of the edict of Nantes compelled a large number of the best citizens of France to abandon their country, or apostatize from their religion. Among those huguenots who sought a home upon a foreign shore was Pierre Jay, the great-grandfather of the subject of this memoir, who emigrated to England in 1685, with a sufficient property to place him above dependence.

His son, Augustus, was abroad when his family left France, and shortly afterwards returned without being aware of the troubles and flight of his friends. He soon found means to escape from the risk and danger to which he was exposed in his native land, and embarked for America.

He landed at Charleston, S. C., but finding the climate unfavorable to his health, he proceeded to the north, and finally settled in New York, where he married the daughter of Mr. Balthazar Bayard, who was also a descendant of a protestant French family. Surrounded by friends who were able and willing to promote his interests, he successfully engaged in mercantile pursuits, and lived in the enjoyment of the respect and esteem of his fellow citizens until 1751, when he died at the age of eighty-six.

He left three daughters, and one son, named Peter, who was married to Mary, the daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, by whom he had ten children. Peter Jay was a merchant, diligent in business, persevering and prudent; so that by the time he had arrived at the meridian of life, he had acquired a sufficient fortune, and retired to an estate he had purchased at Rye, on Long Island Sound.

His wife was a lady of mild temper and gentle manners, and of a cultivated mind. Both were pious. The subject of this sketch was their eighth child, of whom it will now be our business to speak more particularly.

John Jay was born in the city of New York, on the 12th of December, 1745. From childhood he manifested a grave and studious disposition. He acquired the rudiments of English and Latin grammar under the instruction of his mother; and at eight years of age, was placed at the boarding school of the Rev. Mr. Stoope, at New Rochelle, where he remained two years; after which he had the advantage of a private tutor until he was fourteen. In 1760, he entered King's, now Columbia college, where he pursued his studies with a devoted application and perseverance, and conducted himself with exemplary propriety. Some defects, which had probably passed unnoticed in the circle of his own family, gave him no little trouble when he came to mingle with strangers. His articulation was indistinct; his pronunciation of the letter L, exposed him to ridicule; and he had acquired such a habit of rapid reading, that he could with great difficulty be understood. These imperfections by a determined effort he corrected. Before he had completed his collegiate course, he had decided to study law, and therefore, paid particular attention to those branches which he considered most useful in his future profession. He graduated on the 15th of May, 1764, with the highest collegiate honors, and soon after became a student in the office of Benjamin Kissam, Esq., a lawyer of eminence. The late Lindley Murray, who was his fellow student for about two years, thus speaks of him. "His talents and virtues gave at that period pleasing indications of future eminence; he was remarkable for strong reasoning powers, comprehensive views, indefatigable application, and uncommon firmness of mind. With these qualifications, added to a just taste in literature and ample stores of learning and knowledge, he was happily prepared to enter on that career of public virtue by which he was afterward honorably distinguished and made instrumental in promoting the good of his country.

In 1768, Mr. Jay was admitted to the bar, and immediately entered on an extensive and profitable practice. He married in 1774, Sarah, the daughter of William Livingston, Esq., afterwards governor of New Jersey. At this time his professional reputation was high, and his prospects bright, but the political horizon was darkened by the approaching storm. He espoused the cause of his country with all the ardor of youth, while the dignity and gravity of his deportment gave him the influence of riper years. Where he was known he was confided in, and the reputation of his talents and sterling qualities went before him. Thus he entered the broad field of politics, not to work his way to eminence by slow and toilsome steps, but to take his stand at once among the sages and chosen fathers of the people.

The first news of the Boston Port Bill roused the patriots of New

York. A public meeting was held on the 16th of May, 1774, when a committee of fifty was appointed to correspond with the other colonies. Mr. Jay was one of this committee, and also of a subcommittee to answer the letters received. He was afterwards elected one of the delegates from the city of New York to the first congress, which convened at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. He took his seat on the first day of the session. He was not yet twenty-nine years of age, and was the youngest member of that immortal band of patriots. All of them have long since departed; Mr. Jay was the last.

He was a member of the first committee appointed by congress, and was the author of the "Address to the People of Great Britain," which Mr. Jefferson, without knowing the writer, pronounced "a production of the finest pen in America;" an opinion which it justly deserved, and which must have been generally conceded by his associates, if we may judge by the numerous labors of a similar character which were afterwards awarded to him by congress, and by the New York convention.

The address to the inhabitants of Canada, that to the people of Ireland, the appeal of the convention of New York to their constituents, which congress earnestly recommended to the serious perusal and attention of the inhabitants of the United States, and ordered to be printed in German, at the expense of the continent; and the address from congress to their constituents, on the state of their financial affairs, were among his subsequent productions; and they all bear the stamp of his genius, and evince the glowing fervor of his patriotism.

It is impossible to read these addresses without being reminded of the wells of classic learning, which supplied the rushing current of his thoughts with a style and language of never failing vigor and attractive beauty. It would scarcely be extravagant to say, they united the eloquence of Cicero with the pious patriotism of Maccabeus; it is certain that they prove their author to have been deeply imbued with the spirit of the ancient patriots, and not less those of Palestine than of Greece and Rome.

After Mr. Jay's return from congress, he was elected by the citizens of New York, a member of a "committee of observation;" and soon after of a committee of *association*, with general and indefined powers, which they exercised, in the absence of all legislative authority, by calling on the citizens to arm and perfect themselves in military discipline, and by ordering the militia to patrol the streets at night to prevent the exportation of provisions. The provincial congress assembled in May, 1775, and relieved the committee of their responsibility.

When the second congress assembled in Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1775, Mr. Jay again attended as a delegate from New York. The battle of Lexington had occurred in the recess, and it was now apparent that hostilities were inevitable. An army was therefore to be organized, and preparations made for defence. To act on the defensive, and "to repel force by force," was the utmost extent of hostility which this congress would sanction; there were some of the members, and many of the citizens, who were not prepared to throw off their allegiance to the king, at least not until some further efforts were made to obtain redress. That all such might be left without excuse, Mr. Jay advocated another petition to the king, which he succeeded in carrying against a strong opposition. It proved, as he had anticipated, a useless appeal to the monarch, but added numerous friends to the American cause.

The exposed situation of New York, induced congress to recommend to the provincial legislature to arm and train the militia; but unfortunately that province was distracted by a much larger proportion of tories than any other of the northern colonies, and in many instances the commissions for the field officers were declined. In this strait, Mr. Jay accepted of a colonel's commission, but he never acted under it, as his presence in congress was deemed of more importance. Until the spring of 1776, congress had restrained their measures within the bounds of forbearance, and had kept open the door of reconciliation; it then became apparent that the British ministry were determined to listen to no remonstrances, nor to stop short of a complete subjugation of the colonies. Congress, therefore, determined to abandon their hitherto defensive system, and to employ their arms in annoying their enemies, and especially to assail their commerce by privateers, which could speedily be despatched from numerous ports. This movement they thought necessary to explain and justify, and the task of preparing a suitable declaration was assigned to a committee of which Mr. Jay was a member. In April, 1776, while attending the general congress, he was elected to represent the city and county of New York in the colonial congress, which assembled on the 14th of May. Subjects of the highest importance were here to be acted on, which required all the firmness and wisdom of the ablest statesmen. The presence of Mr. Jay was required. He attended accordingly, for by appointment of this body he held his seat in congress, and not by an election of the people. The convention therefore had a right to command his presence, and he was directed not to leave them until further orders. He was not permitted to return to his seat in the continental congress, but was constantly and actively engaged during the residue of the year in his native state, and was thus deprived of the honor of being in his seat when the declaration of independence was adopted. Had he been there he would have advocated it; for although he has been "*estimated*" to have "kept the proceedings and preparations a year behind,"* nothing can be more certain than that he was himself at least a year in advance of most of his own constituents.

On the 31st of May, Mr. JAY reported to the New York convention, or congress, a series of resolutions, which were agreed to, calling on the people to elect deputies to a new convention with power to *establish a form of government.* That he recommended the establishment of a regular government in the state, and thereby renouncing all connexion with the British crown, is sufficiently expressive of his views on the subject of independence, but the following may also be added. The new convention with power to establish a permanent government for New York, met at Whiteplains on the 9th of July, and on the same day the declaration of independence was received from congress. This important document was immediately referred to a committee of which Mr. JAY was chairman, and he almost *instanter* reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

"*Resolved, unanimously,* That the reasons assigned by the continental congress for declaring these united colonies free and independent states, are cogent and conclusive; and that while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered this measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting it."

A few days after this, he was appointed a member of a secret committee, for the purpose of obstructing the navigation of the Hudson river. The activity and zeal which he displayed on this occasion were no doubt stimulated by the unbounded confidence which he could not but feel was reposed in his integrity and judgment. He was dispatched by the committee to Connecticut for a supply of cannon and shot, "with authority to impress carriages, teams, sloops, and horses, and to call out detachments of the militia, and generally to do, or cause to be done, at his discretion, all such matters and things as he might deem necessary or expedient to forward and complete the business committed to his care."

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* Jefferson's Correspondence, Letter CLXXIV.

He was successful in his exertions, and in a short time had twenty cannon delivered at West Point.

So numerous and important were the subjects which claimed the attention of the convention at this eventful period, that the special business of their appointment could not be taken up until the 1st of August, when a committee of which, as usual, Mr. Jay was one, was appointed to report a form of government; but the report was not perfected until the following year. In the mean time the convention exercised all the powers of government with a vigor and firmness, which, when the circumstances of the state are considered, are truly astonishing. The ability, energy, and decision of Mr. Jay, kept him in constant employment, so that we may safely say, whatever was done, he was among the foremost and most industrious performers.

He prepared the draft of the constitution which, with several amendments, was adopted on the 20th of April, 1777, but having been a few days before summoned to attend his dying mother, some articles which he intended to offer as amendments were omitted and some additions made, of which he did not approve. The state of New York being now provided with a constitution, Mr. Jay received the appointment of chief justice of the supreme court, and as the judges of that court were by the new constitution restrained from holding any other office than that of a delegate to congress on special occasions, and no such occasion existing at that time, his seat in congress was vacated.

Before the convention dissolved in May, 1777, they appointed a council of safety, from among their own members, to administer the government until the legislature should be organized. As one of this council, Mr. Jay was almost constantly occupied until the following September. On the 9th of that month, the first term of the supreme court was held at Kingston, and the chief justice presided. This was one of the most interesting periods of his official life: the government under which the people had been born, and which their education and habits had taught them to venerate, had just been abolished, and a new one formed on new principles, in the very seat of war, and in the presence of victorious enemies. Ticonderoga had fallen; one British army was approaching from the north, another from the south; the disaffected, numerous and active, and the friends of their country, sinking in despair. How worthy is the patriot of our admiration, who, at such a crisis, could retain his firmness, and with an unruffled mind and undiverted eye look forward to the end of his labors, with the full assurance of the righteousness of the cause, and of the favor of heaven. Such a patriot was **John Jay**.

The controversy between the legislature of New York, and the people of Vermont, afforded a "special occasion" to send the chief justice as a delegate to congress. He accordingly took his seat in that body on the 7th of December, 1778, and three days after, was elected president, on the resignation of Mr. Laurens. This office he held until the 27th of September, 1779, when he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Spain. To obtain the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and to procure pecuniary aid, were the objects of his mission.

He sailed on the 20th of October, in the frigate Confederacy, which had been ordered to France, to carry home the French minister, Mr. Gerard; but on the 7th of November, the ship was dismasted in a storm, and with difficulty reached Martinico on the 18th of December; on the 28th, Mr. **Jay** embarked at St. Pierres in the French frigate Aurora, and arrived at Cadiz on the 22d of January, 1780. Having communicated his commission to the Spanish court, he was invited to Madrid, but at the same time was given to understand, that the formalities of an official reception must be deferred. He soon found, that although Spain was at war with our common enemy, she was not inclined to form an alliance with us, to grant us aid, or even to acknowledge our independence, unless on conditions which he was little inclined to comply with. The Spanish minister required that the United States should guaranty to Spain the possession of Florida, and the exclusive right of navigation on the Mississippi. To this, Mr. **Jay**, who looked forward to the future consequences of thus shutting up the mouth of one of our most important rivers, would not consent.* To add to the perplexity of his situation, he learned, soon after his arrival in Spain, that congress had adopted a singular expedient for raising money, (on the presumption of a successful negotiation,) by drawing on him for the payment of bills to the amount of half a million of dollars at six months sight.

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* Dr. Franklin approved of Mr. Jay's resistance to this proposition, observing, "poor as we are, yet as I know we shall be rich, I would rather agree with them to buy at a great price, the whole of the Mississippi, than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my front door."

These bills soon began to be presented for acceptance. He obtained the promise from the Spanish government, of the means to meet drafts to the amount of about thirteen thousand dollars, and this encouraged him to hope for further pecuniary aid; but he was held in suspense until it was probably supposed that his embarrassments had rendered him more docile, when he was again urged to relinquish the claim of the United States, to the navigation of the Mississippi. This he again declined, and he was then informed that Spain would advance no more money. Mr. Jay then came to the resolution of becoming personally responsible, by accepting all future bills which might be presented, and thus at least preserve the credit of the United States, for the next six months, and trust to a change of circumstances for a disembarrassment. By the assistance of Dr. Franklin, who was then in France, and some further aid from Spain, all the bills which he accepted were paid, though not all of them as they became due. While thus laboring to overcome the great difficulties of his mission, he had the mortification to learn that congress had authorized him to relinquish the right of navigating the Mississippi below the southern boundary of the United States. According to these new instructions, he presented the plan of a treaty, but at the same time he required, on his own responsibility, that a treaty should be immediately concluded, or that the United States should not in future be bound by the offers now made. This proposal was not accepted, and the negotiation was again deferred.

Early in the summer of 1782, having been appointed one of the commissioners for negotiating a peace with England, Mr. Jay proceeded to Paris, where Count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador, was authorized to continue negotiations with him; but these progressed no further than an interchange of the views of their respective governments in relation to the western boundary of the United States. It will not be necessary to explain the instructions which were given to the commissioners of the United States, charged with the important duty of terminating the war, further than to state generally, that they were such as left the terms of peace under the control of the French minister, whose advice and opinions were to govern the American commissioners. These instructions were particularly displeasing to Mr. Jay, who thought the dignity of his country compromised, and her minister degraded, by being placed under the direction of a foreign power. He nevertheless continued to act under the commission, but earnestly requested congress to relieve him from his station. What may have been the motive of the desire to control the negotiations, or what the policy of the French minister in the advice which he gave, and the opinions declared in relation to the American claims of territorial limits, and the fisheries, we shall not stop to inquire; the motives and acts of our own minister, are more to our present purpose, and these were undoubtedly of the highest and purest character. During his residence at Madrid, he had imbibed suspicions that the French court, though sincerely desirous to render us independent of Great Britain, were not willing to favor our views at the expense of Spain, or even to see us acquire such power and importance as might lead us to dispense with their patronage, and to pursue our own objects without regard to their wishes or advice. These suspicions were strengthened after his arrival at the French capital, by the influence employed to dissuade him and his colleagues from insisting on several points which they deemed of high importance, and which they finally obtained.

His enlarged views of the future greatness of America, his respect for her honor, and his firm determination never to be an instrument to diminish it, led him to disobey the instructions which degraded him to the station of a subaltern agent of a foreign minister, and obedience to which would, in his opinion, endanger the interests, and tarnish the glory of his country.

When the negotiation commenced, Mr. Jay and Dr. Franklin were the only American commissioners present. Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens were their coadjutors; the former joined them on the 26th of October, the latter on the 29th of November. In July, 1782, Mr. Richard Oswald was authorized by the king of Great Britain, "to treat, consult of, and conclude a peace or truce, with any commissioner, or commissioners, named or to be named by the thirteen *colonies* or *plantations* in North America," &c. According to their instructions, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay consulted Count de Vergennes, and he advised them to proceed; but Mr. Jay objected to treat with the British commissioner, unless the independence of his country was first recognised, and he took upon himself, without the concurrence of Dr. Franklin or the knowledge of the French minister, to assure Mr. Oswald of his determination not to enter upon any negotiation in which he should be recognised only as a commissioner from *colonies*. The British cabinet being informed of this objection replied, that it was intended to recognise the independence of the United States by treaty, but Mr. JAY continued firm in his resolution, and at length Mr. Oswald received a commission authorizing him to treat with the "*commissioners of the United States of America.*"

The negotiation now commenced, and in a few weeks the preliminary articles were agreed to without the knowledge of the French government, and were signed by Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. JAY, and Mr. Laurens, on the 30th of November, but were not to take effect until peace should be concluded between Great Britain and France. By these articles all the claims of the United States were granted, and France being thus deprived of all pretext for continuing the war, a preliminary treaty was arranged and signed between France and Great Britain, on the 20th of January, 1783; congress proclaimed a cessation of hostilities on the 11th of April, and on the 15th, formally ratified the treaty. In September, the definitive treaties between the belligerant powers were signed at Paris, and the American definitive treaty was ratified by congress on the 14th of January, 1784.

Mr. JAY's health had suffered severely from the climate of Spain, and his subsequent close application to business had added to his indisposition. By the advice of his physician he visited Bath, and derived essential benefit from the use of the waters. He then returned to Paris, and being freed from the cares of public duty, he had leisure to enjoy the polished and elevated society in which he moved. But his heart's desire was now to return to the land of his nativity, and a private station. He declined the appointment as a commissioner to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and having heard it rumored that he would probably be appointed minister to England, he wrote to the secretary of foreign affairs earnestly requesting not to be considered a candidate for that station. As soon, therefore, as the definitive treaty was signed, he prepared to return home, he resigned his Spanish mission, and having attended to the settlement of his accounts, he left Paris on the 16th of May, 1784, and arrived in New York on the 24th of July. He was greeted by his friends and fellow citizens in the most affectionate and grateful manner, and learned that on the probability of his return having been made known to congress, that body had elected him their secretary for foreign affairs, and soon after his arrival, the state legislature appointed him one of their delegates to congress. He continued at the head of the department of foreign affairs, and in the faithful discharge of its laborious duties until the organization of the government under the federal constitution.

It is generally known that Mr. Jay used extraordinary exertions to secure the adoption of that instrument by the state of New York, where the question was held for some time in suspense. It will not be improper in this place to review the immediate causes of those exertions, with a sketch of his opinions and views of passing events. Mr. Jay held the office of foreign secretary a little over four years; during that time all the powers of government were vested in congress. It had been perceived even before the conclusion of the war, that this body possessed in fact very little real power, and when the first great object of the contest had been secured, every succeeding occasion for the exercise of sovereignty betrayed the imbecility and insufficiency of the government. The official station of Mr. Jay constantly brought this embarrassing fact to his view to his great mortification and regret. His letters written at this period express his wishes distinctly. His own words will best illustrate his sentiments. In a letter to J. Lowell, in 1785, he says; "It is my first wish to see the United States assume and merit the character of *one great nation* whose territory is divided into different states, merely for more convenient government. In another to John Adams, in 1786, he repeats the sentiment thus. "It is one of the first wishes of my heart to see the people of America become *one nation* in every respect." This was the abstract desire induced by occasions of frequent occurrence. The most prominent of these were, the Algerine war in 1785, when congress could not command the funds to redeem the captives, nor to build a navy which he recommended. In 1786, the negotiations with Spain were renewed in relation to the disputed navigation of the Mississippi below the southern boundary of the states, which broke off unadjusted, as Spain refused to grant the right, and the United States persisted in claiming it. Mr. Jay was an honest minister, he never hesitated to express his opinions, and on this occasion he remarked to congress, that if they insisted on the navigation of the Mississippi at that time, "the Spanish forts on its banks would be strengthened, and that nation would then bid us defiance with impunity, at least until the American nation should become more really and truly a nation than it is at present. For unblessed with an efficient government, destitute of funds, and without public credit, at home or abroad, we should be obliged to wait in patience for better days, or plunge into an unpopular and dangerous war." About the same time it was proposed to negotiate a loan in Europe, and the subject being referred to him, he reported against it, considering it improper "because the federal government in its present state, is rather paternal and persuasive than coercive and efficient. Congress can make no certain dependence on the states for any specific sums to be required and paid at any given periods, and consequently are not in capacity safely to pledge their honor and faith for the repayment of any specific sums they may borrow." When, therefore, a convention was appointed, and a constitution formed and recommended to the states for their approval, which promised, if not all he desired, at least as much as could reasonably be expected, he was better prepared than most men in the country for advocating its adoption. Still, it was for some time doubtful whether it would be approved or not. There was a strong party in the opposition, some of whom thought the old confederation with modifications would be sufficient, and some were unwilling to relinquish any of the rights of the states; thus originated two great parties in the country. Mr. Jay was not a member of the convention by whom the constitution of the United States was framed, but its superiority to the articles of confederation was too obvious to allow of any hesitation on his part; he accordingly united with Mr. Madison and Colonel Hamilton, in the publication of a series of essays in explanation and commendation of the document, when it was submitted to the people for a final decision. These essays, collected in the well known work, "the Federalist," now form a standard book of reference on most great constitutional questions. After the second, third, fourth, and fifth numbers of these essays were written by Mr. Jay, he was for some time prevented from a continuation by an unfortunate occurrence. Some young physicians, after violating the grave for subjects of anatomical study, had the folly to exhibit parts of limbs at their window to the passengers in the street. A serious riot was the consequence. The magistrates of the city of New York, to protect the physicians from violence, shut them up in prison, but the mob, determined not to be disappointed in their vengeance, assembled for the purpose of executing summary punishment on the culprits. Mr. Jay, and other gentlemen, armed and placed themselves under the command of Colonel Hamilton, to prevent the outrage. This party was attacked by the rioters with stones, one of which struck Mr. Jay on the temple, and nearly deprived him of life. He however recovered, but only in time to write the sixty-fourth number of the Federalist. He also published an address to the people of the state of New York, in favor of the adoption of the constitution, and when the legislature called a convention to decide the question, Mr. JAY was elected one of the delegates from the city. The convention consisted of fifty-seven members, forty-six of whom were understood at the time to be *anti-federalists;* nevertheless, the constitution was adopted; but only by a majority of three votes.

Mr. JAY received the very gratifying testimony of the respect and confidence of President Washington, who, on the organization of the departments, requested him to select any office he might prefer. He did so, and was accordingly appointed the first chief justice of the United States.

In April, 1794, he was appointed envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, to negotiate a treaty for the regulation of commerce, and a settlement of the disputes between the two countries, in relation to the infractions of the treaty of peace. On the 19th of November following, he concluded and signed with Lord Grenville a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic majesty and the United States. This treaty gave great offence to France, and produced a fearful excitement in the United States. Forty years have since passed away, and at no subsequent period has the stability of the government been placed in more imminent peril. The judgment of Washington, however, approved the treaty, and his firmness carried the country through the crisis, but the minister who negotiated the treaty was assailed and denounced by a numerous and powerful antagonist party. For this Mr. JAY was prepared, as his letters written at that time declare. "I carried with me to Europe," said he to Edmund Randolph, "and I brought back from thence a fixed opinion, that no treaty whatever with Great Britain would escape a partial, but violent opposition. I did clearly discern that any such treaty would be used as a pretext for attacks on the government, and for attempts to diminish the confidence which the great body of the people reposed in it." In another letter, addressed to General Henry Lee, after expressing a sentiment similar to the above, he said, "apprised of what had happened in Greece and other countries, I was warned by the experience of ages not to calculate on the constancy of any popular tide, whether favorable or adverse, which erroneous or transitory impressions might occasion. The treaty is as it is, and the time will certainly come, when it will universally receive exactly that degree of commendation or censure which, to candid and enlightened minds, it shall appear to deserve."

Mr. JAY arrived at New York, in May, 1795, and found that he had been elected governor of the state. He felt bound by the circumstances under which he had been elected, to accept the honor conferred, and accordingly resigned the office of chief justice. He held the station of governor until 1801, when, having declined to be considered again a candidate, he withdrew from public life to the peaceful shades of his paternal estate at Bedford.

President Adams attempted to retain his services for the public, by nominating him to the senate for his former seat on the bench of the supreme court, but he had deliberately made up his mind to retire, and declined the honor, on the ground "that his duty did not require him to accept it." The public services of Mr. JAY fill a broad space in the history of his country, but the value of them has been variously estimated amidst the zealous strife of contending political parties, and it is perhaps even yet too soon to attempt an adjustment of the balance. We shall therefore be content to leave it to the calm judgment of our readers.

That Mr. JAY, at the age of fifty-six, should have abandoned all participation in public affairs, excited some surprise at the time; but a view of his private character and motives affords a sufficient explanation.

Through all his life, he was influenced mainly by a sense of duty. At no period the creature of impulse, whatever he undertook to do, was the result of cool, dispassionate conviction, so that whatever was the labor or the difficulty of the performance, he pressed forward regardless of the consequences. So long as he believed it to be his duty to serve the public, he remained at his post, and having "borne the heat and burden of the day," until he saw the institutions of his country, which he had assisted to rear, effective and prosperous, he naturally turned towards a station and mode of life that from early youth had been his desire. Firm in his political principles, and decidedly attached to one of the great parties of his day, he was yet tolerant of the opinions of others; he never deserted his friends, nor sought to purchase an opponent; he never asked a vote nor an office, nor did he ever remove an officer for his political views. Being therefore neither factious, ambitious, nor anxious for distinction, he was willing, when he saw the administration of the government passing out of the hands of his political friends, to give a fair trial to their successors.

In 1802, he had the misfortune to lose his excellent and beloved wife, which left a breach in the family circle at Bedford, that was long and painfully felt.

Mr. Jay's life exhibited a beautiful illustration of the power of religion. It was never laid aside for convenience, nor brought forward on special occasions for effect, but it was a pervading influence equally acknowledged and obeyed from day to day, in public and in private. In the very storm and tempest of political passion—and there is none more reckless—his private character was always respected by his antagonists. By his friends he was venerated. In his retirement, he devoted much of his time to study and reflection; and while he was prudent, economical and diligent in the improvement of his estate, he lived in constant preparation for "another and a better world."

He was a plain republican in his manners; warm and enduring in his friendships, and liberal in his benevolence. He was a member of most of the great religious associations of his time, and succeeded Elias Boudinot, as president of the American Bible Society.

For several years before his death, Mr. Jay's health had gradually declined. In 1827, he was dangerously ill, so that his recovery was not expected. When apprised of his danger by his son, he received the information without any apparent emotion, but in the course of the day he conversed with cheerfulness and animation.

On being urged to tell his children on what his hopes were founded, and whence he drew his consolation, he replied, "they have THE BOOK." From this attack, however, he recovered, but continued feeble and gradually declining until the 14th of May, 1829, when he was suddenly seized with palsy, which almost deprived him of the power of speech, though his mind remained perfect to the last.

He departed on the 17th of the same month, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The public acts of Mr. Jay form an important part of our early national history. A memoir of his life by his son, William Jay, with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers, has recently been published in two octavo volumes, which we hope will find a place in the library of every American, who designs to set before his children a bright example of public and private virtue.

"It would be difficult," says a late writer, "to point out a character in modern times more nearly allied to the Aristides drawn by Plutarch, than that of John Jay. Justice, stern and inflexible, holds the first place in his exalted mind." Yet Plutarch admits, "that although in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow-citizens, Aristides was inflexibly just, in affairs of state he did many things, according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed often to have need of the assistance of injustice." In this respect the resemblance fails between the ancient and the modern, JOHN JAY never departed from the strictest rule of right; and the patriot and the Christian may equally point to him with admiration and applause.

J. H.

PATRICK HENRY.

Patrick Henry was born of respectable parentage, in the county of Hanover, state of Virginia, on the 29th of May, 1736. He displayed in his youth none of those admirable qualities which, in after life, rendered him the admiration of his country, and the terror of her enemies. Deficient in early education, and deprived of the opportunities of improvement by which the powers of his mind could be developed, his genius, which was at a future period destined to shine so brilliantly, was involved in obscurity until aroused from its dormant condition, by circumstances which brought all its powerful energies into action, and displayed its vigor and splendor to his astonished associates and countrymen. Agriculture and shop keeping were successively pursued and abandoned by him. Failure attended his early career, and in whatever avocations he was engaged, or when struggling to subdue his undisciplined spirits to the useful employments of life, he seemed to be doomed to an humble and unprosperous condition. At the age of eighteen, he married a Miss Shelton. After all other means of subsistence had failed, he determined to exchange manual labor for the practice of the law, and after studying for about six weeks, obtained, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, with great difficulty, a license to practice. It was not, however, until he had reached his twenty-seventh year, that an opportunity occurred for a trial of his strength at the bar, when the powers of his unrivalled genius were exhibited in full relief, and placed him at once in the highest rank of his profession. The cause in which he first made his appearance before a court and jury, was familiary called the *parsons' cause*, and involved a question upon which the country was very much excited; the clergy and people being arrayed in opposition. A decision of the court on a demurrer in favor of the claims of the clergy, had left nothing undetermined but the amount of damages in the cause which was pending. The counsel who had been concerned for the defendants having retired from the management of the case, Mr. Henry was retained, and on a writ of inquiry of damages, he took advantage of the opportunity furnished of addressing the jury, to enter into a discussion of the points which had been previously settled, and although in deviation from regular practice, succeeded by the force of his eloquence in inducing the jury to give but nominal damages. The management of the cause gained for him the most enthusiastic applause, and brought him so prominently before the public, that he became the idol of the people whom he had so efficiently served, and received the most earnest demonstrations of their admiration.

In 1764, he removed to the county of Louisa, and in the fall of that year, appeared before a committee of the house of burgesses, then sitting at Williamsburg, as counsel in the case of a contested election, and amidst the fashion and splendor of the seat of government, the rustic orator commanded attention and respect.

A wider field for the display of his eloquence was soon open to him, and as the controversy with Great Britain began to thicken, the champion of the people's rights was called into the public counsels, to rebuke the spirit of despotism, and sustain the drooping spirits of his countrymen, by an eloquence which springing from the great fountain of nature, no power could control or subdue. The seat of a member of the house of burgesses was vacated to make room for him, and in the month of May, 1765, he was elected a member. He was now destined to act among the most accomplished and distinguished men of the country. Following no other guide than his pure and patriotic spirit, and using no other instrument of action but his own matchless eloquence, he rapidly ascended to the loftiest station in the confidence and affections, both of the legislature and of the people. Taking at once a bold stand, he rallied around him the opposition, and became the envy and the terror of the aristocracy. His plebeian origin and rustic appearance were singularly contrasted with the rich veins of intellectual wealth, which the collisions of debate and party strife brought to the public view. By his almost unaided skill, he defeated the aristocracy in a favorite measure, and acquired an ascendency at the outset of his public career which enabled him to give the impress of his own undaunted spirit to the future counsels of the state. In 1765, "alone, unadvised and unassisted," he wrote on the blank leaf of an old law book the resolutions of 1765, denouncing the stamp act and asserting the rights of the people. On offering them to the legislature, they met with violent opposition, which drew from Mr. HENRY one of the most vivid and powerful efforts of his eloquence. Breasting the storm, and bidding defiance to the cries of treason, by which in vain it was attempted to silence him, he secured their adoption, and thus gave an impulse to public feeling, and a character to the contest, which essentially aided the revolutionary cause. In the year 1767, or 1768, he removed from Louisa to his native county, and continued without intermission in public life, until after the close of the war. The higher courts engaged his attention, and although a want of familiarity with the common law, and a dislike to the forms of practice obstructed his progress, he found in the trial of criminal causes an extensive sphere for the exercise of his abilities, and the acquisition of a professional reputation.

In the assembly he continued to espouse the cause of the people, and permitted no opportunity to escape, of stimulating them and their representatives to repel the aggressions of the mother country. Prior to the commencement of hostilities, he predicted the dissolution of the connection which subsisted between her and her colonies, and the triumph of the latter.

The house of burgesses having been, in 1774, dissolved by Governor Dunmore, in consequence of their energetic opposition to tyranny, the members recommended a convention of the people to deliberate on the critical posture of affairs, and particularly to appoint delegates to a congress to be convened at Philadelphia. Mr. HENRY was elected a member of the convention, and by that body was appointed with Messrs Randolph, Lee, Washington, Bland, Harrison, and Pendleton, delegates to congress, which assembled at Carpenter's Hall, on the 4th of September. The most illustrious men of America who had been heretofore strangers, or only known to one another by fame, were now brought by the common danger which hung over their country, into the closest intercourse. The organized masses of virtue, intelligence, and genius, formed a body which attracted by its wisdom, firmness and patriotism, the admiration of mankind, and must ever reflect unfading lustre on the country whose destinies they controlled, and whose freedom they achieved. Mr. HENRY's magical eloquence first broke the solemn silence which succeeded their organization, and in breasts so lofty and so pure, the undisciplined and untutored voice of patriotism and of native genius found a response, which sustained its boldest exertions. The impartial judgments of the greatest and most accomplished men awarded to him the highest place among orators.

Unfortunately for Mr. HENRY, he did not excel in composition, for having been placed on a committee to prepare an address to the king, he did not fulfil the expectations which his eloquence had created, and accordingly his draft was recommitted, and John Dickinson added to the committee, who reported the celebrated address which so much increased his reputation.

The Virginia convention met a second time in March, 1775, at Richmond, when Mr. Henry brought forward a series of resolutions containing a plan for the organization of the militia. In defiance of the opposition of the ablest and most patriotic members of the convention, they were sustained by a torrent of irresistible eloquence from Mr. Henry, who inspired the convention with a determined spirit of resistance. An opportunity soon occurred for a trial of his courage, as well as of his influence with the people. The prohibition of the exportation of powder from Great Britain, was followed by attempts to procure the possession of magazines in America, by which the colonists would be deprived of the means of defence. A large quantity of gun-powder was clandestinely removed from the colonial magazine at Williamsburg, and placed on board of armed British vessels. The excitement which it produced, extorted from the governor a promise for its return, by which public feeling was for the time appeased, but subsequent threats and rumors of fresh encroachments on the magazine, together with the irritation produced by the battles of Concord and Lexington, aroused the country to arms. The movements of the military corps was, however, arrested by the exertions of Mr. Randolph. But Mr. Henry, determined not to submit to the aggressions of the British governor, despatched express riders to the members of the Independent Company of Hanover to meet him in arms at Newcastle. Having aroused their patriotism by all the efforts of his eloquence, by the resignation of the captain, he became the commander, and they commenced their march for Williamsburg. The country was electrified. Other companies joined the revolutionary standard of Patrick Henry, and at least five thousand men were in arms, rushing to his assistance. The governor issued a proclamation denouncing the movement. The greatest consternation prevailed at Williamsburg; even the patriots were alarmed, and despatched messenger after messenger to induce him to abandon the enterprise; but undaunted, he resolutely pursued his march. The governor, after making preparations for his defence, deemed it most prudent to avoid a conflict, and accordingly ordered Mr. Henry to be met at Newcastle with a compensation in money for the powder. Another proclamation from the governor denouncing him, not only fell harmless before him, but seemed to render him an object of greater public regard. Mr. Henry's journey to congress, which had been interrupted by this event, was now resumed, and became, as far as the borders of Virginia, a triumphant procession.

The affair of the gun-powder brought Mr. Henry to the notice of the colonial convention in a military point of view, and accordingly "he was elected colonel of the first regiment, and commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the defence of the colony." Having resigned his commission, he was elected a delegate to the convention which met on the 6th of May, 1776, at Williamsburg. On the 1st of July, he was elected the first republican governor of Virginia, and was continued in that station by an unanimous vote, until 1778. A wish having been expressed to reëlect him for the fourth term, he declined being a candidate, on the ground that the constitution had declared the governor to be ineligible after the third year, although an impression existed on the minds of some of the members of the legislature, that his appointment for the first year having been made prior to the adoption of that instrument, should not be counted in his term of service under it. Mr. HENRY entertaining a different opinion, communicated his views to the assembly, "that they might have the earliest opportunity of deliberating upon the choice of his successor." Few opportunities occurred for distinction during his gubernatorial career, but he appears to have performed all the duties of the station, to the satisfaction of the country, and to have retired with an increase of reputation and popularity. During the gloomiest period of the conflict for independence, a project was twice started to create a dictation, and whilst the most satisfactory evidence exists that Mr. HENRY had no participation in it, it is highly honorable to him, that the drooping spirits of his countrymen were turned to him as the safest depository of uncontrolled authority. After retiring from the executive department, Mr. HENRY became once more a representative in the assembly, and continued to enlighten the public councils by the splendor of his eloquence, and his liberal views of public policy. Among the measures which he advocated after the close of the war, the return of the British refugees, the removal of restraints on British commerce, even before the treaty by which that object was accomplished, and the improvement of the condition of the Indians, were conspicuous. On the 17th of November, 1784, he was again elected governor of Virginia. His circumstances, owing to the smallness of the salaries which he had received, and the sacrifices he had made in the public service, had become embarrassed, which induced him to retire from that station in the fall of 1786, whilst yet a year remained of his constitutional term, and also to decline accepting the appointment which was tendered to him by the legislature, of a seat in the convention to revise the constitution of the United States.

"On his resigning the government," says his accomplished biographer

Mr. Wirt, "he retired to Prince Edward county, and endeavored to cast about for the means of extricating himself from his debts. At the age of fifty years, worn down by more than twenty years of arduous service in the cause of his country, eighteen of which had been occupied by the toils and tempests of the revolution, it was natural for him to wish for rest, and to seek some secure and placid port in which he might repose himself from the fatigues of the storm. This, however, was denied him; and after having devoted the bloom of youth and the maturity of manhood to the good of his country, he had now in his old age to provide for his family." He accordingly resumed the practice of the law, in which the powers of his eloquence secured him constant employment. But it was difficult for him to abstract himself entirely from public affairs, and the formation of the constitution of the United States, respecting which he entertained most erroneous views, enlisted his feelings once more in political struggle as a member of the convention, assembled for its adoption, at Richmond, on June 2d, 1788.

Professing to be alarmed at the character and extent of the powers conferred on the federal government. Mr. Henry exerted all his great abilities to produce its defeat. Fortunately for the country, Virginia possessed, and was enabled to bring in opposition to his constitutional views, an array of great men, who, although inferior to him in eloquence, surpassed him in knowledge, and by their combined exertions, were able to counterbalance the influence which his skill in debate, unquestionable patriotism, and long continued services, enabled him to wield. Madison, Marshall, Pendleton, Wythe, Nicholas, Randolph, Innis, and Lee,were the bulwarks of that sacred shield of liberty, the constitution of the United States; against which our patriotic orator, with his wonted vigor and matured skill, week after week, cast the darts of his stupendous eloquence. Ridicule, sarcasm, pathos, and argument were resorted to, to accomplish his object, and with untiring energy, he assailed it as a system and in detail, as the one plan or the other seemed best calculated for the purposes of the veteran tactician. He denounced it as a consolidated, instead of a confederated, government, and charged the convention by which it was framed, with an assumption of power, when, by the preamble they declared the instrument to emanate from the people of the United States, instead of the states by which they were appointed. The powers conferred on the government, were, in his opinion, dangerous to freedom, and he condemned the whole system as pregnant with hazard, and ruinous to liberty. Mr. HENRY was combated with admirable skill, and triumphantly defeated.

His failure in the convention did not however affect his influence, and in the subsequent fall, he possessed in the assembly the confidence and popularity which had so long clung to him. He succeeded in procuring the election of candidates for the senate of the United States in opposition to those nominated by his antagonists; and also in procuring the adoption of a series of resolutions favorable to a convention of the states to alter the constitution, which had been so recently adopted. In the spring of 1791, he declined a reëlection to the assembly, with the view of retiring altogether from public life. Necessity compelled him to continue the practice of the law, and in the fall of that year, he argued before the circuit court of the United States the celebrated case of the British debts, with an eloquence and professional ability which extorted the admiration of the bench, and the crowded audience which his great reputation had assembled. Such was the curiosity to hear him, that a quorum of the legislature could not be obtained, and a large concourse were subjected to disappointment by the multitude which thronged the court room. For three days he riveted the attention of a promiscuous audience, whilst discussing the usually uninteresting details of complicated law points. His success in the practice of the law was eminently distinguished, and being relieved by the assistance of other counsel from the necessity of turning his attention to such branches of the practice as were unsuitable to him, his genius had ample scope to range in the direction most congenial to it.

In the year 1796, he was once more elected governor of Virginia, which he declined. He also refused to accept the embassy to Spain, which was offered to him during the administration of Washington, and that to France, to which he was appointed by Mr. Adams. His declining health and advanced age, rendered retirement more desirable to him than ever; but prior to the close of his earthly career, he was induced to forego the comforts and peace of domestic life, to embark in the stormy conflicts of political controversy. Believing that the democratic party in Virginia were yielding to passion, and advocating principles hostile to the safety of the country, and opposed to the constitution of the United States, Mr. HENRY espoused the cause of that instrument, the adoption of which he had so strenuously resisted. The Virginia resolutions of 1798 filled him with alarm, and although subsequent events have shown that the authors of them did not harbor intentions hostile to the union, Mr. HENRY firmly believed that he saw in their train the most ruinous consequences. He presented himself at the spring election of 1799, at the county of Charlotte, as a candidate for the house of delegates, and in an eloquent address to the people, expressed his alarm at the conduct of the party opposed to the national administration, his belief that their measures were not in accordance with the constitution, and his determination to support that instrument. He reminded them of his opposition to it on the very grounds that the powers which they were then condemning, were conferred, denied the right of a state to decide on the validity of federal laws, and declared his firm belief, that the destruction of the constitution would be followed by the total loss of liberty.

His usual success attended him, and he was elected. His health, however, yielded to the disease with which he had been afflicted for two years, and he expired on the 6th of June, 1799.

Mr. Henry was twice married, and was the parent of fifteen children, eleven of whom survived him. In domestic life, he was conspicuous for his simplicity, frankness, and morality. Without ostentation, his retirement was enlivened by the cheerfulness of his disposition, and the stores of practical knowledge which a long career in public life had enabled him to accumulate. He was a firm Christian, and devoted much of his time in the concluding years of his life to reading works on religion. Temperate in his habits, indulgent to his children, and rigid in his morals, there was but little in his conduct for detraction to act upon. The charge of apostacy was made against him on account of his determination to sustain the constitution of the United States, which he had so strongly opposed; but when we reflect upon the incalculable blessings which it has showered upon the country, and how triumphantly it has refuted, by its practical operations, the objections which were made to it, we cannot but admire the frank and honorable conduct of the patriotic orator, who did not hesitate to sustain a system which experience must have convinced him he had erroneously opposed. The eloquence of Mr. Henry has been attested by evidence to which every American will yield conviction. Unrivalled in its influence, it was one of the causes of the independence of the country: the remembrance of it deserves to be perpetuated to after ages, as one of the most striking characteristics of the contest for freedom. In recurring to the events of that struggle, with the virtues, patriotism, and heroism for which it was conspicuous, will ever be associated in grateful remembrance, the impetuous, patriotic, and irresistible eloquence of Patrick Henry.

JOSEPH WARREN.

To have been the most distinguished man slain in the battle of Bunker hill, "whose glorious name might turn a coward brave," is sufficient to secure an immortality of fame to the name of Joseph Warren.

> "Brief, brave, and glorious was his young career,"

and although the time and circumstances of his death present the most prominent point of observation, yet, the active part he took in the preliminary events, and the zeal and ability of his previous services in rousing the energies of his countrymen to resist oppression are interwoven with the history of his time, and entitle him to a place among the first of American patriots.

Joseph Warren was born at Roxbury, near Boston, in the year 1741. At the age of fourteen he entered Harvard university, where he bore a high character for talents, perseverance, and correct deportment, as well as for a generous, courageous, and independent spirit. He graduated in 1759, and under the direction of Dr. Lloyd, an eminent physician of that day, he pursued the study of medicine. He commenced the practice of his profession in Boston, and very soon acquired a high reputation for skill and humanity, which, added to the favorable influence of a handsome person and courteous address, gave the promise of a brilliant professional career with the usual reward of industry and talent—influence and wealth. But "with all the endowments and accomplishments which make refined life desirable," and all the opportunities of gratifying professional ambition, no private interest, no love of ease, nor fear of consequences, could balance his sense of public duty. The passage of the celebrated stamp act first turned his attention to political subjects, and he entered upon a serious examination of the great question which then agitated the country. Occupied through the day by professional duties, he gave his nights to the investigation of the rights of the British parliament, and of the chartered rights of the colonies. Having thus formed his opinions by study and reflection, he deliberately took his stand on the side of his country, and with his constitutional ardor devoted himself to the common cause. His private interests suffered by neglect, and his pecuniary affairs became embarrassed; but young, and zealous in the performance of a paramount obligation, self was forgotten, and he labored to convince others, as he had satisfied himself, by reason and argument.

In 1768 Dr. WARREN addressed a letter to Governor Bernard, which was complained of as a libel, and an attempt was made to silence the author by an indictment, but the grand jury refused to find a bill. From this time forward his pen was restless, and his exertions unwearied, and as he enjoyed the affections and confidence of all classes, his influence was extensive.

Private meetings were held by him and other leaders of the opposition, which were attended by many persons in public offices, respectable mechanics, and others in the middle classes of society: in these meetings the most important matters were decided and afterwards carried into effect, while the hand of the master remained unseen.

But it was not by these means only that Dr. WARREN retained his influence over the spirits he had raised; he often found it necessary to restrain the impatient zeal of his friends, and held their confidence by his prudence and circumspection, as he had gained it by his intelligence and resolution.

In public, and especially in the face of the agents of the crown, he was bold and daring. One memorable instance of this occurred in 1775. He had delivered in 1772 the annual oration in commemoration of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, and when the time arrived for the appointment of an orator for 1775, he solicited the honor on that occasion in consequence of a threat uttered by some of the British officers, that they would take the life of any man who should dare to speak of the massacre on that anniversary.

Dr. WARREN was appointed, the day arrived, the Old South meeting-house was filled to overflowing; the aisles, the stairs, and even the pulpit, were occupied by British officers; the orator made his entrance by a ladder at the pulpit window; and cool, collected, and intrepid, he advanced into the midst of them and addressed the audience.

One of the British officers upon the pulpit stairs, in the mean time amused himself significantly by playing with a couple of musket balls, which he occasionally threw up and caught in his hand. "A solemn silence pervaded the whole assembly. The speaker seemed absorbed by his subject, and indifferent to every thing but his theme. It was momentarily expected that some interruption would take place. In a few minutes a drum was heard. Was it the signal for another outrage? It approached, and its sound broke the attention of the audience. With a countenance displaying the indignant feelings which the subject excited, his arm outstretched in an attitude of dignity, the orator paused till the noise should subside, and leave him at liberty to be heard again by the people. There was a slight movement round the house, the effect of intense interest; for not a hair of his head would have been hurt without the most signal revenge."* The interruption was short, and the oration proceeded without further disturbance.

Dr. Warren was a member of the first committee of correspondence appointed by the city of Boston, in November 1772, which led to the subsequent union of the colonies. This committee made a report to their constituents, in which they gave a statement of the rights of the colonies, and of the violations attempted by the British ministry; this report was circulated through all the towns of the province, with an impressive letter to the inhabitants. We have not the means of knowing what part the subject of this memoir performed in this work, but there is no doubt of his sentiments, and that his efforts were constantly directed to a proper state of preparation to meet the crisis which he saw approaching. He had no confidence in the virtue of petitions or remonstrances, but he had a high opinion of the bravery of his countrymen and of their determination to defend their liberty. In a letter to Josiah Quincy, dated November 21st, 1774, at which time he was president of the provincial congress, he says, "It is the united voice of Americans to preserve their freedom or lose their lives in defence of it. Their resolutions are not the effects of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. I am convinced that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of people, in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America."

On the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, the design of the British to seize the military stores deposited at Concord, was communicated to Dr. Warren, and he immediately despatched several messengers with the information, by various routes, to Lexington, to rouse the militia in the neighborhood. He followed them himself, and was actively engaged in the action of the 19th. Whatever hope had been entertained of an amicable settlement of the dispute, was dissipated by the battle of Lexington; the war had begun, and large bodies of undisciplined and irregular troops—gathered in haste from the peaceful pursuits of civil life—began to assemble at Cambridge with such arms as they could command. The British forces, shut up in Boston by these brave and enthusiastic men, remained inactive until the middle of June. It was then determined by the provincial congress that Bunker hill should be occupied by a thousand men; a council of war was summoned to consider the proposition;* and on the evening of the 16th, the detachment marched under the command of Colonel Prescott; but instead of halting at the designated hill, they advanced to Breed's hill, where in the course of the night, they threw up a redoubt and an entrenchment or breastwork, extending from its northern angle fifty or sixty feet towards Mystic river.

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* Note in Austin's life of Gerry, Vol. I. p. 85.

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* Dr. Dwight (Travels, Vol. I. p. 469,) has recorded a specimen of the deliberations of this council, derived from a gentleman who was a member of it, which may be regarded as a *military curiosity*. "After it had been resolved that a thousand men should occupy Bunker hill, a question arose concerning the number of cartridges which it would be proper for each man to carry. The younger officers, guided only by their books and their common sense, proposed that the detachment should receive sixty rounds.

"The older officers, some of whom probably knew the small quantity of ammunition then in the province, and dreaded every expense of it not demanded by absolute necessity, thought this number too great. One of them, who in his former life had been accustomed to the business of scouting, and valued himself upon being an expert huntsman, observed, that the young men evidently did not understand the business, and indeed could not, since they had had no military experience. 'War,' he said, 'is in substance the same thing with hunting. A skilful hunter never shoots until he is secure of his mark. On the contrary, he watches, and waits till the deer is fairly within his reach; and then, taking exact aim, almost always makes sure of his object. In the same manner ought soldiers to act. To shoot at men without being sufficiently near, and without taking aim, is to shoot at random, and only to waste your powder. A thousand men are ordered out to Bunker hill. Suppose each man to have five rounds of cartridges; the whole number will be five thousand. If half of these should take effect, (and if they do not, the men are not fit to be entrusted with cartridges,) the consequence is, that two thousand five hundred of the British soldiers fall. Does any man believe that they will keep the ground till two thousand five hundred are shot down? Let our men take aim, then, as I do when I am hunting deer, and five rounds will be enough.' Ten will be more than enough. Such was the opinion which in the main prevailed." And such, we may add, was the advice acted upon in the battle. General Dearborne, then a captain in Colonel Stark's regiment, says in his account of the action, "each man received a *gill cup* full of powder, fifteen balls, and one flint. As there were scarcely two muskets in a company of equal calibre it was necessary to reduce the size of the balls for many of them; and, as but a small proportion of the men had cartridge boxes, the remainder made use of powder horns and ball pouches. * * * Our men were intent on cutting down every officer whom they could discover in the British line. When any of them discovered one he would instantly exclaim, '*there! see that officer, let us have a shot at him*,' when two or three would fire at the same moment; and as our soldiers were excellent marksmen, and rested their muskets over the fence, they were sure of their object." Port Folio, 1818.

Four days previous to these transactions, Dr. WARREN had been appointed by the provincial congress, a major-general of their forces; we are not informed whether he assisted at the council of war, mentioned above, but think it most probable he did, and that it led to the conversation alluded to in Austin's life of Elbridge Gerry, and which together with the subsequent events, has been narrated by one of his biographers as follows: "On the 16th of June, he had a conversation with Mr. Gerry, at Cambridge, respecting the determination of congress to take possession of Bunker's hill. He said that for himself he had been opposed to it, but that the majority had determined upon it, and he would hazard his life to carry their determination into effect. Mr. Gerry expressed in strong terms his disapprobation of the measure, as the situation was such, that it would be in vain to attempt to hold it; adding, 'but if it must be so, it is not worth while for you to be present; it will be madness to expose yourself, where your destruction will be almost inevitable.' 'I know it,' he answered; 'but I live within the sound of their cannon; how could I hear their roaring in so glorious a cause, and not be there!' Again Mr. Gerry remonstrated, and concluded with saying, 'As surely as you go there, you will be slain.' General WARREN replied enthusiastically, 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.' The next day his principles were sealed with his blood. Having spent the greater part of the night in public business at Watertown, he arrived at Cambridge at about five o'clock in the morning, and being unwell, threw himself on a bed. About noon he was informed of the state of preparation for battle at Charlestown; he immediately arose, saying he was well again, and mounting a horse, rode to the place. He arrived at Breed's hill a short time before the action commenced. Colonel Prescott, 'the brave,' (as Washington was afterwards in the habit of calling him) was then the actual commanding officer. He came up to General WARREN to resign his command, and asked what were his orders. General WARREN told him he came not to command, but to learn; and having, as it is said, borrowed a musket and cartouch box from a sergeant who was retiring, he mingled in the thickest of the fight, animating and encouraging the men more by his example than it was possible to do in any other way. He fell after the retreat commenced, at some distance in the rear of the redoubt. A ball passed through his head, and killed him almost instantly. His body was thrown into the ground where he fell."

After the British troops had evacuated Boston, General WARREN's remains (which were identified by a particular false tooth) were exhumed and removed to Boston by the free-masons, and interred with their usual solemnities; and a eulogy was pronounced by Perez Morton, Esq., in presence of a numerous assembly in the stone chapel, beneath which the remains were finally deposited. General WARREN held the appointment of grand master of masons for the continent of America, by warrant from the earl of Dumfries, grand master of Scotland. The fraternity erected a monument to his memory on the battle field, which has given place to the magnificent pile, the corner stone of which was laid by Lafayette, in 1825, on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle.

On the 8th of April, 1777, the general congress passed a resolution to erect a monument to the memory of General WARREN, who "devoted his life to the liberties of his country, and in bravely defending them, fell an early victim." It was also resolved to provide for the education of his eldest son; and in July 1780, they further resolved to allow the half pay of a major-general, from the time of his death, until his youngest child should be of age for the education and maintenance of his three youngest children. These latter resolutions were accordingly carried into effect.

> "Let laurels, drenched in pure Parnassian dews,
> Reward his memory, dear to every muse,
> Who, with a courage of unshaken root,
> In honor's field advancing his firm foot,
> Plants it upon the line that justice draws,
> And will prevail, or perish in her cause.
> 'Tis to the virtues of such men, man owes
> His portion in the good that Heaven bestows;
> And when recording history displays,
> Feats of renown, though wrought in ancient days;
> Tells of a few stout hearts, that fought and died
> Where duty placed them, at their country's side;
> The man that is not moved by what he reads,
> That takes not fire at their heroic deeds,
> Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
> Is base in kind, and born to be a slave."—COWPER.

HENRY KNOX.

When we contemplate the lives of the leaders of our army, we are irresistibly attracted by their valor and the glory of their exploits. But in confining our admiration to their deeds of heroism, we rob them of half the meed of applause which they have justly earned. They not only fought our battles, but for eight years were the watchful guardians of their country. It is not merely their physical aid to which we are indebted; it is also to their moral worth, their integrity and firmness, which saved us from the open assaults of the foe, and the covert and more dangerous designs of domestic treachery. Eight years witnessed their entire self-devotion, in which property, health, personal safety, and the pleasures of domestic life, were exchanged for the scanty and unpalatable rations of the soldier, the diseases incident to exposure in every season and climate, the dangers of the battle, and the cheerless shelter of the tented field. And for all these services, all these sacrifices, as well as positive suffering, what was their compensation? As far as it can be estimated in dollars and cents, it was "poor indeed." Yet they reaped that harvest which was more to be envied than any reward which wealth could have bestowed, in the consummation of their most sanguine hopes, in approving consciences, and the gratitude of a nation.

There are few of our revolutionary patriots who are more deserving of having their names handed down to the love and admiration of posterity, than the late General Knox; and very few to whose memory so little justice has been accorded. The limits of the present sketch will permit but a brief outline of the life and services of this eminent man, whose virtues and talents well entitle him to a more copious and extended biography, which is loudly called for by his friends and the public. At present it will be sufficient to say that of the many who devoted themselves to the noble cause of their country's freedom, none engaged in it with more ardor and enthusiasm—with more entire dedication of all the powers of body and mind—both of which were uncommonly vigorous, and well adapted to encounter all the trials and vicissitudes of that stormy and eventful period.

Henry Knox was born in Boston, in the year 1750. It was his misfortune in early life to be deprived of a father's care, but as good is frequently educed from evil, this event however painful in itself, had probably the happy effect of stimulating him to exertion, and calling his energies into early action. His attachment to a widowed mother, who was left to struggle with pecuniary embarrassments, was the strongest incentive to industry and effort, and these combined with an unblemished moral character, enabled him to establish himself, even before he became of age, as a respectable and enterprising bookseller in his native town. His prospects were encouraging and satisfactory, but when the injuries and insults heaped on us by the parent country, roused the long suffering and forbearance of our citizens to open resistance, he hesitated not to abandon all selfish and minor considerations, and to devote himself heart and hand to what he believed the righteous cause of his country. Even before this period he had been distinguished by his fondness for martial exercises, and as one of the officers of a company of grenadiers, which for the strictness of its discipinle, and perfection of its evolutions, received the warm encomiums of a British officer of high distinction.

Thus early initiated in the routine of military duty, he was well qualified to become the active and energetic officer which he afterward proved. He had married the daughter of a gentleman who had long held an important office under the British government, and whose views and feelings were altogether opposed to what he considered a desperate cause. Yet this alliance had no effect to unnerve his arm, or paralyze his efforts. The influence of the lady, indeed, was not exerted to dissuade him from the path of duty, for she had fully adopted the views and feelings of her husband. Although from the bosom of a tory family, she reluctantly yet resolutely severed herself from them, and unhesitatingly encountered all the privations and hardships incident to the wife of a soldier, at this perilous and eventful period of our history. They together effected their escape from Boston, when in the occupation of the British, and in their precipitous retreat Mrs. Knox concealed the sword which he wore through the war, quilted within the lining of her cloak.

General Washington had a short time before this established his head quarters at Cambridge, a short distance from Harvard college. Here KNOX presented himself before him, and volunteered his services in aid of his suffering country. An occasion soon offered which enabled him to prove how sincere was his devotion, how untiring his zeal in her cause. It was soon discerned by the commander-in-chief, after his arrival in the vicinity of Boston, that without ordnance, in which we were deplorably deficient, it was impossible to cope with the power of the enemy, or dislodge them from the capital of New England; but could this deficiency be supplied, the commanding heights of Dorchester would afford our army ample facilities for annoying their ships, and probably be the most effectual means of compelling them to evacuate the town. The anxious inquiry now presented itself—how was the difficulty to be remedied? how were cannon to be procured? It was at length suggested that the dilapidated forts on the Canadian frontier presented the only resource; but to encounter the toils and perils of procuring them from so great a distance, at the most inclement season of the year, required a chivalry of spirit and determination of purpose, that damped the ardor of the bravest. The object, however, was of vital importance; KNOX felt it to be so: he saw that on its success might depend the freedom of his country. Undeterred, therefore, by the many obstacles that presented themselves, he resolved to encounter them, and to put forth all his strength to accomplish so desirable an object. Washington, who duly appreciated the magnitude of the attempt, and the incalculable value of its success, accepted with affectionate gratitude the generous proposal, and afforded him all the facilities that circumstances would permit.

KNOX was then in the morning of manhood, with a fine constitution, and an athletic frame, well calculated to encounter hardship and fatigue. Nor were his mental qualities less adapted to the emergency than his physical powers. A heart glowing with patriotic zeal, was sustained by a determination of purpose not to be subdued. All difficulties yielded to his energy and perseverance, and before it was thought practicable for him to have performed the journey, he had the satisfaction of presenting to our army the all-important munitions which their destitute situation so imperiously demanded. The neighboring heights soon presented, as if by magic, a formidable array of heavy artillery, and the evacuation, by the British forces, giving relief to our imprisoned countrymen, was the happy and almost immediate result.

Washington never forgot the enthusiasm which suggested, nor the heroic resolution that effected this daring achievement. A regular corps of artillery was now organized as a constituent part of the army, and the command conferred on the brave soldier who had so much contributed to lay its foundation; for indeed, it was in a measure true, as the poet Humphreys expresses it, that "KNOX created all the stores of war." This command, notwithstanding the intrigues of rival claimants, could not be wrested from the hands in which impartial justice had so judiciously placed it, and where, by the concurring testimony of the most distinguished French as well as American officers, it deservedly belonged.

An incident which occurred to General KNOX while on his northern expedition ought not to be omitted. It so chanced, that his steps were directed to the same cottage where the unfortunate Andre had taken shelter for the night: they had passed the evening in social intercourse, and found so many points of congeniality, that when informed that they must occupy the same bed, they were not unwilling to have a prolonged opportunity of continuing their conversation, which, although it turned on general topics, was replete with the interest which refinement and cultivation always impart even to subjects of indifference. The frankness and intelligence of these youthful warriors made a strong and mutually favorable impression, although their characters and pursuits were not disclosed until the moment of separation. But the manly sentiments and amiable manners of Andre, created so favorable an impression on General KNOX, that the pleasure of this transient interview greatly enhanced the regret (as he often observed) with which he was afterward compelled to perform the painful office of a judge upon that tribunal where duty required the sentence of condemnation against him as a public offender, whom in private intercourse he had found so interesting and unexceptionable as a companion and a gentleman.

After the battle of Whiteplains Washington deemed it prudent to retreat towards the Delaware, which he crossed with his army.

The letters of General KNOX written at this most gloomy period, afford indisputable evidence that his confidence in the goodness of our cause, and in the aid of that power who can alone ensure success, was never shaken. They express a conviction that whatever trials might be encountered, the cause of freedom would be eventually triumphant.

General KNOX took a conspicuous part in the battles at Trenton and Princeton, and he was no less active in the succeeding battles of Brandywine and Germantown, in the former of which he was slightly wounded. This was the only wound he received in all the battles in which he was engaged.

Although the actions to which we have last alluded were both severe, the most trying scene in which the main army was engaged, was yet to come. The battle of Monmouth was the most severely contested of all the actions of the war. In this engagement so signal were the services of the artillery and its brave commander, that even the enemy could not withhold their commendations. His cool bravery, and the skilful management of his pieces, were subjects of unqualified encomium, and the commander-in-chief, in his general orders, expressed his approbation in the warmest terms.

"New laurels were reserved for him at the siege of Yorktown. To the successful result of that memorable siege, the last brilliant act of our revolutionary contest, no officer contributed more essentially than the commander of the artillery. His animated exertions, his military skill, his cool and determined bravery in this triumphant struggle, received the unanimous approbation of his brethren in arms."* In the capitulation of Cornwallis he was entrusted, as one of the commissioners, with that important and delicate negotiation. He was immediately afterward advanced by congress to the rank of major-general.

The war having been brought to a happy termination, there yet remained a duty to be performed of no common magnitude, and which had not generally been anticipated. The men who had fought the battles of their country, were to be disbanded and turned upon the world without a dollar in the treasury to discharge their hard earned wages. The resources of the country were exhausted, and the faith of a government, not yet established, was all that could be pledged for their payment. To quiet the murmurings of a discontented soldiery, who had too much cause for their complaints, required the influence, the persuasion, the firmness, and example of our bravest and best men. KNOX was among those who strongly felt the impending danger, and that the liberty they had toiled so hard to win, was in danger of being lost by domestic faction. With conciliating arguments, but intrepid resolution, he interposed all his popularity and influence, and by assisting to soothe the growing irritation, he rendered important service in recalling our misguided soldiers to a sense of duty. Had the influence of a few such men been added to the scale of disaffection, all must have been lost.

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* Thacher's Military Journal.

This imminent peril thus surmounted, the officers of the army were soon to separate; and the bonds of affection which had been so strongly woven, by long and intimate union in the same glorious career, were probably to be severed forever. It was while surrounding the table of the commander-in-chief at Newburg, where nothing damped the joy which affectionate hospitality imparted, but the intruding thought of a solemn separation, that KNOX, with a warmth of feeling which so much endeared him to his friends, suggested the idea of a society to perpetuate the memory of their friendship and their toils, and of that fraternal union which the blood of the revolution had cemented. Such a society he believed might transmit to their descendants, as a legacy, the same kind feelings by which its founders were allied. With these objects in view the Cincinnati society was organized, and he was elected vice-president, which office he continued to hold during his life.

On the 25th of November, 1783, the British troops evacuated the city of New York, and General KNOX took possession with the troops under his command.

Throughout the war General Knox shared intimately and constantly in the councils of the commander-in-chief; this naturally resulted from the nature of his command, independently of which, his personal qualities were peculiarly calculated to inspire confidence and affection, and such was the regard generated "by constant intercourse, that he has sometimes been designated as the beloved disciple." This affectionate interest manifested by Washington, continued until the close of his life unabated, as was evinced by his letters long after he had retired from public life. The ardor with which he embraced him, after a very narrow escape from a party of British dragoons, and the parting interview between them at New York, where General KNOX was in command after the evacuation of the British, furnish the most unequivocal testimony of his esteem and regard.

In this sketch it will not be expected that all the events with which the subject of it was connected should be related. It is sufficient to say that wherever Washington fought, KNOX, as commander of the artillery, shared in his dangers. The sole theatre of action of this body was in the northern and middle states, until the campaign that terminated the war. The southern states exhibited many severe conflicts, but they were conducted by divisions detached for those important services, and the names of the immortal Greene and other heroes who there led our troops to victory, have been recorded in the annals of the nation, as their memories are embalmed in the hearts of their countrymen.

After the establishment of peace, General KNOX returned to his native town, with the intention of devoting himself to his private concerns, which had long suffered from unavoidable neglect. Less than a year, however, elapsed, before he was called to aid in the administration of the government. In the year 1784 he removed to New York to assume the office of secretary of war, to which he was appointed under the old confederation. When the constitution was adopted, he was reappointed to that office by President Washington, and was the efficient supporter of those measures of his administration, which laid the foundation of the unexampled prosperity of our country.

Five years' acquaintance with official duties previous to the election of General Washington to the presidency, had given him such intimate knowledge of the existing interests and relations of the country, as well qualified him to be the confidential adviser of the executive; and his reappointment to the department of war was no less satisfactory to the people than it was in accordance with the inclination of him by whom it was made. His capacious mind was not confined to the mere details of office; it reached forward to the increasing necessities and to the future greatness of the nation.

The impending war with France, and the daring outrages of the barbarous freebooters of the Mediterranean on the unprotected persons and property of our citizens, together with the importance of some means of external defence for our extensive sea-board, forcibly impressed his mind with the necessity of a *naval force*. His measures for the establishment of a navy, although its expediency was at first distrusted by some of our wisest and best men, and which for a time divided the opinion of the cabinet, were at length carried into effect in no small degree by his sanguine confidence in its success, and strenuous exertions for its accomplishment. The result soon justified its friends and silenced its opposers, and it has long since been identified as well with our glory as our prosperity.

As it was too small in its infancy to warrant a separate establishment, it was connected with the war department, and its additional duties were performed by the secretary with equal zeal and ability, until the imperious claims of private interest compelled him to turn his attention to the long neglected concerns of his family. The expenses of his open hospitality far exceeded the limited compensation of his office, and had compelled him to draw on his private resources; he had therefore, for some time felt that duty required him to retire from public life. The president, whose solicitations it was difficult to withstand, had expressed a desire that he would remain with him till the close of his own official career, and had from time to time induced him to continue, but in 1795, Washington reluctantly accepted his resignation. He was still, however, in the meridian of life, and he deemed it advisable to give himself entirely to the cultivation and improvement of an extensive tract of land in the then district of Maine, part of which Mrs. Knox inherited from her ancestor, the late General Waldo, and the rest he had purchased of the other heirs. This property comprised a large portion of what are now the counties of Lincoln, Waldo, and Penobscot. And as much of it was in possession of usurpers, or, as they are vulgarly termed, *squatters*, who had flattered themselves that they should be permitted to continue undisturbed, and had made valuable improvements; it was a task of no small difficulty and embarrassment to quiet their pretensions, although unsupported by a shadow of right. The firm yet conciliating course, however, which the proprietor pursued, eventually overcame all obstacles, and established him in the affection and esteem of all good men. His liberality and beneficence, together with the vast improvements which he suggested and carried into effect, in various branches of industry, soon rendered his residence among them a blessing, which all felt and were willing to acknowledge, for he literally made the desert to bud and blossom as the rose.

A splendid mansion had been erected at the head of St. George's River previous to his removal, and in this delightful spot, surrounded by the comforts and elegancies of life, in the bosom of an amiable and intelligent family, and with full employment for all his powers of mind and body, General KNOX enjoyed a degree of happiness greater probably than he had ever before known. His wife, too, who had accompanied him through all the vicissitudes of an eight years' war, and in the hour of peril had been ever near to administer to his relief, should circumstances require—who had been the choice of his youth, the friend and companion of his riper years, and who was truly his congenial spirit—she too, was well satisfied to retire from scenes of gaiety and fashion, to the privacy of domestic life, and the society she most prized and loved, her rising offspring; this gave full scope to her active and intelligent mind, and full occupation to her leisure hours. It was soon found, however, that this section of country, hitherto little known and less appreciated, was fast rising into notice, under the fostering care and active exertions of General Knox, and his house became the favorite resort of all whom curiosity, business, or unemployed leisure led into the vicinity. Here they found all the attractions of elegant hospitality, interesting and instructive society, and every resource which literature or science could supply. The conversation of General Knox was itself a feast. It was remarkable for originality of thought and strength of expression. He was affable without familiarity, dignified without parade—imposing without arrogance. He was blessed too with an uncommon cheerfulness of disposition, which seemed to diffuse its charm on all around him. It was, indeed, difficult to be long in his society without feeling happier as well as wiser. This trait of character—this disposition to regard the bright side of things, he cultivated and recommended as almost a religious duty—as an evidence of gratitude to the Giver of all good. It was not that he had known uninterrupted prosperity—that he had not felt a chastening hand—for it had been the will of Heaven to deprive him of a large portion of his interesting family, and no man ever more acutely felt the deprivation of these dear objects of affection. But he felt that it was the Lord, and that it became him not to murmur, or to overlook the many blessings that were accorded him. His religious views and feelings, although in some measure peculiar to himself, were enlarged and elevated: he had the firmest belief in our immortality and accountability, and believed that those who were so blest as to be admitted into heaven, would be continually progressing and advancing nearer and nearer to the great source of light and life.

The plans and projects of General Knox for the improvement of his estate, and of the province of his adoption, were more suited to his expansive mind than to his actual resources, and the consequences more advantageous to others than to himself or to his own family. They required, indeed, the finances of a company, rather than of an individual. Had he been permitted, however, to attain the common age of man, which from his vigorous constitution might well have been expected, the gradual rise in the value of the property would have undoubtedly enabled him to realize all his anticipations, and to have left his family in possession of great wealth. It was otherwise ordained. A sudden and unlooked-for accident cut him off in the midst of his days and of his usefulness, to the universal regret of all who knew him. The whole neighborhood mourned as for a public benefactor, and felt that they "ne'er should look upon his like again." They knew, indeed, that their best friend was taken from them, and could not reasonably expect that his place would soon be filled. But to his more immediate family, the loss was overwhelming, for it came upon them like a flash of lightning, without a moment's time for preparation, and they could derive consolation only from the belief that the change was unspeakably to his advantage. They knew that he had no dread of death, that he had even considered it as a translation from a very imperfect, to a blessed and glorious state of existence, and had he been permitted to converse with them in his last moments, they knew that he would have spoken peace to their troubled souls, and charged them not to grieve for him, but so to live that they might be reunited in a never-ending union.

T.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

This distinguished individual, who truly deserves, in the language of one of his biographers, "a high rank in the fraternity of American heroes," was a native of the pleasant little town of Hingham, situated on a small bay which sets up south from Boston, at the distance of about thirteen miles from the city, and within a few years become one of the principal summer resorts of such of its residents as grow weary at that season of the dust and din of its "populous streets." He was born January 23d, (O. S.,) 1733, in the same house which he died in, and which is still pointed out to the stranger by the members of the large and highly respectable family of his own name, who are among the inhabitants of the place to this day.

The parentage and early situation and education of Lincoln, although far enough from being remarkably imposing, were well calculated, like those of many others of the greatest men of the revolutionary period, to prepare him for the trying contest in which he was destined to act a conspicuous, as well as a laborious part. His father, Benjamin Lincoln, was a maltster and farmer, in good circumstances, and a man much respected by his fellow-citizens, who repeatedly elected him, during times of no little political interest, the representative of Hingham in the general court, as the legislature was then usually termed. The young man enjoyed also, during the entire period of his early life, the eminent advantages implied in a good Massachusetts common school education; an opportunity of access to a considerable variety of books, and frequent leisure to read them; and especially, so far as his moral character was concerned, and upon that very much depended during his after life—in the exemplary, religious, orderly, and cheerful habits of his father's household.

Previous to the revolution, though his regular vocation was farming, and his robust constitution enabled him to pursue it with an industrious perseverance, he was several times called on to interest himself in the civil and military affairs of the county and province. At the age of twenty-two, he was appointed an adjutant in the regiment of militia then commanded by his father, and not long afterwards major, under Colonel Josiah Quincy—Bernard being at that time governor. In 1772, Governor Hutchinson made him lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. He also sustained several of the town offices, and was elected its representative in the legislature.

When the disputes between the colonies and the mother country grew warm, he espoused the cause of the former, and supported it with energy and effect. This course brought him necessarily into political life, and in 1775, he was chosen a member of the provincial congress, which assembled at Cambridge and Watertown: that respectable body made him one of their secretaries, and a member of the important committee of correspondence who were instructed to communicate with the towns throughout the province, and with the other colonies, in relation to the critical circumstances of the times.

During this year he was not called into actual military service. On the memorable 19th of April, when blood was shed upon the plains of Lexington and Concord, he summoned the troops under his command to march to the scene of contest; but the rapid return of the British to the capital that same night, prevented the movement. The celerity with which the intelligence of this affair, we may here remark, travelled in all directions over the commonwealth and the continent, was perhaps till that time unexampled in colonial history. The writer has frequently conversed with a venerable citizen of Concord,* lately deceased, then an artisan in the village, who, having at the first news of the approach of the enemy some time before day-break, commenced the voluntary labor of alarming the neighboring country, actually rode on horseback more than one hundred miles during the next twenty-four hours, in the performance of that duty—a task which, considering the condition of some of the roads he traversed, may be regarded as a feat worthy to be mentioned. This gentleman's wife and her young children had, meanwhile, deserted his house, and gone off to find security in the neighboring woods, with a large number of inhabitants situated like themselves.

Having been appointed by the council of Massachusetts a brigadier in February, 1776, and a major-general by the same authority, in May of that same year, he employed himself industriously during the summer, in the exercise of the militia under his command. In August the council appointed him, by virtue of the supreme executive power reposed in their hands, to the control of all the troops of the state, doing duty at and about Boston; and the high opinion generally entertained of his ability and fidelity is still farther manifested by the selection which the general court, in the following months, made of him as commander of the regiments to be raised by the state to reinforce the army of Washington in New York and New Jersey, which had now become the chief theatre of the war. Previous to leaving the environs of Boston, he had the honor of heading an expedition of provincial troops and volunteers, who succeeded in clearing the harbor of the last remnants of the enemy. Until the 13th of June, they remained about Nantasket, with a fifty gun-ship, and several other vessels. The general embarked at Long Wharf, with the view of dislodging this force; and having landed upon Long Island, made arrangements for a vigorous cannonade; but a few shots soon convinced the British commodore of his danger, and he hastily abandoned the Boston waters, never more to infest them. "Thus," in the language of the Journal of Dr. Thatcher, who was himself one of the party—"is the port again opened by our own authority, after being closed during two years by virtue of an act of the British parliament.

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* Mr. Reuben Brown.

The acquaintance which the illustrious commander-in-chief of the American army had formed with Lincoln, while at Cambridge, induced him to recommend the latter to the continental congress as an officer whose services it was desirable to secure in the federal line, and accordingly, in February, 1777, he was appointed by that honorable body a major-general of their forces. During the spring and summer of this year, he was intrusted by Washington with the command of divisions or detachments of the main army, and was frequently in situations which required the exercise of a high degree of military skill, though by no means fruitful in the means of brilliant distinction. The inferiority of the American force to that of the enemy, and the uncertainty of the operations of the latter, rendered the campaign a continual trial of vigilance and perseverance, much rather than of more imposing qualifications, on the part of the American generals.

On one occasion, notwithstanding all his caution, he was very near being surprised. He was at Bound Brook, on the Rariton, near the enemy, with a detachment of a few hundred men, appointed to guard a line of some five or six miles. About day-break of the morning of April 13th, owing to the negligence of his patrols, he was suddenly assaulted by a large British party under Cornwallis and Grant. They had arrived within two hundred yards of his own quarters when discovered, and the general, with one of his aids, had hardly time to mount and leave the house before it was surrounded. The other aid, with the baggage and papers of the party, fell into the enemy's hands, as did also a few small pieces of artillery, while the general led off his troops between two columns of the British, who had nearly closed, and made good his retreat to the pass of the mountains near his encampment, with the loss of sixty killed and wounded.

The commander-in-chief on all occasions manifested great confidence in the talents and patriotism of Lincoln, and with the view of turning these to the best account, he directed him, in July, to join the northern army under Schuyler, (afterwards Gates,) which was to oppose Burgoyne. "My principal view," said his letter to the general, "in sending you there, is to take command of the eastern militia, over whom, I am informed, you have influence, and who place confidence in you. I have this day received two letters from General Schuyler, *in such a style as convinces me that it is absolutely necessary to send a determined officer*." This, for Washington, who was not a man of many compliments—was saying a good deal.

Having made his first station at Manchester, in Vermont, to form the militia as they came in from the northern sections of New England, and to operate in the rear of the enemy, Lincoln soon distinguished his energy and good judgment advantageously by an expedition which he sent out on the 13th of September, under Colonel Brown, with five hundred men, to the landing at Lake George. The object was to release the American prisoners, and destroy the British stores, and this was effected completely by the capture of the fort and two hundred batteaux, with two hundred and ninety-three of the enemy's soldiers, and by the liberation of about one hundred American prisoners, while the loss of our party was only three killed and five wounded; an incident which contributed not a little to raise the spirits of the northern militia at this critical period.

After some other operations, Lincoln joined the army of Gates, to whom he was second in command, and arrived in camp on the 29th September. Here he distinguished himself by his usual activity until after the warm engagement of the 7th October. The day succeeding that action, he had occasion to ride from one part of his line to another about a mile distant, and before his return the same route was taken by a party of the enemy. The general knowing that a number of the captured German uniforms had been placed on his own troops, mistook these soldiers for Americans, and came within reach of their fire before the mistake was discovered. They discharged a volley, and wounded him in the lower part of the leg so severely, that he apprehended for some weeks the loss of the limb. This disabled him, and he was removed, first to Albany, and thence to Hingham. He joined the army again in August of 1778, but suffered for several years from the effects of the wound.

In the course of this season, the reputation of Lincoln induced the delegates in congress from South Carolina to request that body to appoint him to the command of the southern army, which he accordingly assumed, and reached Charleston in December. Here he was soon engaged in the bustle of an active campaign; for on the 25th of the month, he learned the arrival of the enemy's fleet at Tybee, and on the 29th, that they had effected a landing, routed the Americans under Howe, and gained Savannah. He immediately put his own forces in motion, while the enemy extended himself into Georgia; but was unable to commence offensive operations until the last of February. On the 2d of March, General Ashe was defeated at Brier Creek, and thus Lincoln lost nearly a fourth part of his army. From this time until June, a variety of movements took place; but of an inconclusive character. On the 20th of that month he attacked the enemy at their works near Stono Ferry, and a very warm action ensued, in which nearly two hundred were killed and wounded on each side. The battle was bravely fought, but did not effect a decisive result. The general was on this occasion, after being without sleep the previous night, ten hours on horseback at one sitting. Both armies rested in their summer quarters till September, the enemy being at Savannah.

In the beginning of that month, Count D'Estaing arrived off the place just mentioned, with a considerable French force, and Lincoln joined soon afterwards with one thousand men, though not in time to prevent the garrison being largely reinforced. A siege and bombardment ensued, which proving too slow an operation for D'Estaing's temperament, he determined on an assault. This occurred on the 9th of October, and was one of the bloodiest engagements of the whole southern war, but less successful than glorious. The count reëmbarked his troops for the West Indies, and **Lincoln** recrossed the Savannah, and made his head-quarters at Charleston.

At this time he stated to congress his conviction, that the British would soon commence a more serious campaign in the southern department, with a view to its permanent acquisition, than either of the preceding had been; and he made an urgent call upon them for a supply of troops adequate to the approaching contest. He was accordingly reinforced, but not to a sufficient extent, and his little army was soon engaged in the defence of Charleston, where, on the 30th of March, General Clinton encamped in great strength, in front of the American lines. The works of the enemy were carried on industriously, so that on the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned to surrender. The second parallel was finished in ten days more, and another summons given and rejected on the 20th. A vigorous cannonade was kept up on either side for several days more. On the 23d, the third parallel was begun, from eighty to one hundred and fifty yards from our lines. Batteries were erected upon it, and a new summons issued on the 8th of May. On the 11th it was found necessary to capitulate, and the negotiation was concluded on the following day.

"Having received," says the general on this occasion, "an address from the principal inhabitants, and from a number of the country militia, desiring that I would accept the terms—and a request from the lieutenant-governor and council that the negotiations might be renewed,—our provisions, saving a little rice, being exhausted, the troops on the line being worn down by fatigue, having for a number of days been obliged to lie upon the banquette,—our harbor closely blocked up,—completely invested by land by *nine thousand men at least*, the flower of the British army in America; besides the large force they could always draw from their marine, and aided by a great number of blacks in their laborious employments;—the garrison at this time (exclusive of sailors) but little exceeding two thousand five hundred men, part of whom had thrown down their arms,—the citizens in general discontented, the enemy being within twenty yards of our lines, and preparing to make a general assault by sea and land,—many of our cannon dismounted, and others silenced for want of shot,—a retreat being judged impracticable, and every hope of timely success cut off, we were induced to offer and accede to the terms executed on the 12th."

On the whole, it is generally conceded, that situated as General **Lincoln** was during this campaign, with a force inadequate, not only to any brilliant achievement, but to any effective defence, he "deserves great praise," in the language of Ramsey, "for his judicious and spirited conduct in baffling, for three months, the greatly superior force of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. Though Charleston and the southern army were lost, yet, by their long protracted defence, the British plans were not only retarded, but deranged, and North Carolina was saved for the remainder of the year 1780." Lee, in his memoirs, correctly remarks, that "so established was the spotless reputation of the vanquished general, that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect and confidence of the congress, the army, and the commander-in-chief." His exertions and fatigue during this laborious campaign, were such as few constitutions would have been able to endure. He was on the lines night and day, and for the last fortnight never undressed to sleep.*

Being admitted to his parole, he returned in the summer to his residence in Hingham. In November following he was, to his great joy, exchanged for Major-General Phillips, and in the spring of 1781, he again joined the army of Washington, then occupying the high grounds bordering on the North River. The operations of the troops in this quarter, though important, are not sufficiently interesting to be detailed here. The crisis of the war, however, was approaching. All eyes began to be turned towards Virginia, and the armies of Lafayette and Cornwallis. The brilliant campaign which ensued in that state is familiar to the memory of all readers. General LINCOLN commanded a central division, during the siege of Yorktown, and had his full share in the honors of the splendid consummation in which it closed. He had the duty appointed him on this occasion, of conducting the conquered army to the field where their arms were deposited, and of receiving the customary submission. These were of course among the last of his revolutionary services.

On the last day of October, 1781, he was chosen by congress secretary of war, with power still to retain his military rank. He immediately entered on the duties of his new office, and continued in it for two years, when he resigned. Congress accepted his resignation with the following emphatic expression of regard:—

"Resolved, That the resignation of Major-General LINCOLN, as secretary at war for the United States, be accepted, in consideration of the earnest desire which he expresses, the objects of the war being so happily accomplished, to retire to private life; and that he be informed, that the United States, in congress assembled, entertain a high sense of his perseverance, fortitude, activity, and meritorious services in the field, as well as of his diligence, fidelity, and capacity in the execution of the office of secretary at war, which important trust he has discharged to their entire approbation."

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* Memoir in Massachusetts Historical Collection, Vol. III., Second Series.

For some years subsequent to this abandonment of the honors of public life, the general, in the true spirit of republican simplicity, not only *contented* but *indulged* himself in the favorite employments of his early life. Most of his time was spent on his native estate, but the government of the state still called him occasionally from his "dignified ease." He busied himself in treating with the Penobscot Indians once or twice, and was also induced to take command of the first division of the Massachusetts militia. At another period he busied himself in settling a tract of land in the district of Maine, one of the towns and counties in which state were honored with his own name.

The famous insurrection of Shays' breaking out in the beginning of 1787, summoned the veteran once more to the field. The rebels having gone so far as to obstruct the sessions of the court of justice with bodies of armed men, the governor and council appointed him to the command of the militia of the state, who were ordered out in a force of between four and five thousand. He began his march from Boston on the 20th of January, for Worcester, where, having protected the court in their session, he hastened to the relief of General Shepherd, at Springfield, where he had already engaged with Shays once, and routed him, though not with any conclusive success. The latter was now at Wilbraham, and his chief ally, Day, with another detachment of rebels at West Springfield. LINCOLN pursued and attacked the latter and put them to rout. Shays moved off to Amherst, and LINCOLN followed him; Shays fortified himself at Pelham, and LINCOLN sent an address to him, calling on him to disband his force, and submit to the government—agreeably to instructions he had received from the state. A correspondence ensued, but without effect; and Shays beginning to draw off again, LINCOLN still pursued him. During the night of February 2d, he marched in remarkably severe weather, to Petersham, the present encampment of the rebels, and there came upon them in the centre of the town, without giving them time to call in even their guards. About one hundred and fifty of them were taken, and the rest fled. Some other parties of rebels were broken up in other places, and the insurrection thus terminated, the general himself, with two distinguished civilians, was appointed under a state commission to determine who should have the benefit of certain acts passed by the legislature for the exemption of some of the insurgents from trial; and having executed this delicate duty, early in the spring he returned again to his farm.

Here he was not permitted to remain long, for in April he was elected lieutenant-governor by the legislature; an office in which he was succeeded, however, the next year, by Samuel Adams, the candidate of the anti-federal party, which at this time had gained the ascendency.

The general was a member of the convention which ratified the new constitution. After that event, in the summer of 1789, he was made collector of Boston; and that office he continued to hold till within two years of his death, when his earnest request to resign it was complied with, by Mr. Jefferson. In 1789 also, he was appointed a commissioner to treat with the Creek Indians; and in 1793, a commissioner with Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph of Virginia, to treat with the western tribes. In the latter years of his life, he interested himself occasionally in literary and scientific pursuits; and several essays, the result of this leisure, are to be found among the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in other works. As early as 1780, Harvard University had given him a degree of master of arts. He was subsequently one of the first members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and belonged to several other similar associations. His decease occurred after a short illness, on the 9th of May, 1810, at the age of seventy-seven years.

The bravery, energy, and indefatigable industry of General LINCOLN, as a military officer, have never been denied, even by those who, at critical periods, doubted the policy of some of his movements during that unfortunate southern campaign, where he was left to contend single-handed against such fearful odds as have already been described. His courage, too, was unalloyed by rashness. It has been said that his perfect calmness in danger seemed like unconcern; but it was one of his own remarks, that he never was exposed without feeling deeply interested, as he was free to acknowledge, as well for his own life, as for that of the soldiers around him. He was humane as he was brave.

In private life few men have been more respected. He was a practical and rational Christian from his childhood up, and to his practice joined also the profession of his principles, being during most of his life a communicant, and for many years a deacon in the church with which he worshipped. Amidst all the licentiousness of the army, no stain came upon his character, and no impurity fell from his lips. The warmth of his disposition was plainly perceptible in all his habits, in his liberal charity, his hospitality, his fondness for the company of the young, his constancy in friendship, and the pleasure which he communicated, through the medium of agreeable manners and lively conversation, in the intercourse of domestic and social life. With the wife of his youth he lived in great conjugal happiness more than fifty-five years, and had by her a number of sons and daughters, among whom it gave him pleasure to distribute a considerable part of his handsome property on two occasions previous to his decease.

General LINCOLN was of middle height, remarkably broad-chested, muscular, in his latter years corpulent, with open intelligent features, and a countenance distinguished by its benignant aspect. The author of "Familiar Letters on Public Characters and Events," recently published at Boston, says, "his hair was combed back from his forehead unpowdered, and gathered in a long queue. He was usually dressed in a blue coat and light under clothes, and wore a cocked hat. He always appeared in boots, in consequence of the deformity of his left leg, occasioned by his wound at Saratoga." This writer remarks upon a peculiarity of the general's constitution, which is well recollected by many other individuals now living; his remarkable *somnolency;* this overcame him to such an extent, that he would fall into a sound sleep at table, and when driving himself in a chaise; and it is related, that when he commanded the militia against the insurgents, he dictated despatches, and slept between the sentences; for his sleep rarely appeared to disturb his perceptions of the circumstances passing around him. "This he considered an infirmity, and his friends never ventured to speak to him of it."

B. B. T.

DAVID WOOSTER.

David Wooster was born in Stratford, Connecticut, on the 2d March, 1710, of very respectable parents. Of his early life, little can now be ascertained, as all the family papers were destroyed by the British when they pillaged the town of New Haven, in 1779. We only know that he received a liberal education, and graduated at Yale college in the year 1738. In the following year, when the Spanish war broke out, he was employed as first lieutenant, and soon after as captain of the vessel built and armed by the colony, as a guard-a-costa.

Not long after this, he married the eldest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Clap, president of Yale college, a young lady not less distinguished for her strength of mind, than for her uncommon resolution, and he became the father of two children, a son and daughter.

David Wooster had naturally a military turn, and he soon had an opportunity of following his inclination, and was first appointed a captain in Colonel Burr's regiment, which formed part of the troops sent by Connecticut, in the celebrated expedition against Louisburg, in 1745. He then proved himself an active and spirited officer, and bore a distinguished part in the siege and capture of that strong fortress. He was retained among the colonial troops to keep possession of the conquest he had assisted in effecting; and he was soon after selected from among the American officers to take charge of a cartel-ship for France and England. He was not permitted to land in France, but was received in England with distinguished honor. The young American officer, as he was called, was presented to the king, and became the favorite of the court. The king admitted him in the regular service, and he was presented with a captaincy in Sir William Pepperel's regiment with half pay for life. His likeness at full length was taken* and transferred to the periodical magazines of that day. The peace of Aix-la-chapelle which took place in 1748, restored Louisburg to France, and the young American officer to private life and his family. He was not, however, permitted to remain long in this situation; the war of 1756 followed, and in this great contest, **Wooster** was appointed colonel of a regiment raised in Connecticut, and afterwards to the command of a brigade, in which station he remained until the peace of 1763. He then returned to his family, bearing many marks of his valor and intrepidity.

Soon after the close of this war, he engaged in mercantile business in New Haven, and held the office of his majesty's collector of the customs for that port. Having in the two preceding wars mixed much in the world, and formed a numerous acquaintance, both in Europe and America, and possessing a generous and liberal mind, his house was the seat of hospitality.

In the great contest between the parent country and the North American colonies, although an officer in the British regular establishment, and entitled to half pay for life, he did not hesitate to take part with his native country, and his pen and sword were actively employed in the defence of its rights.

After the battle of Lexington, he was fully aware that the sword alone must decide the contest. He, as well as other military men of experience, at once saw how important it was for the Americans to get possession of the fortresses of the country, together with the cannon, arms, and military stores therein deposited. The peculiar situation of the fort at Ticonderoga, commanding the great pass between the north Atlantic colonies and Canada, did not escape his notice. He, therefore, with a few others of a kindred spirit, early in May, 1775, secretly planned an expedition from Connecticut, to seize upon and retain that important fortress; and to enable them to carry their design into execution, they privately obtained a loan of eighteen hundred dollars from the treasury of the state, for which they became personally responsible. Such was the secrecy and despatch in executing this measure, that, on the 10th of May, as is well known, this fort was surprised and delivered up to Allen and Arnold, and their brave followers. This step, one of the boldest taken at that period of the contest, was at the sole risk and responsibility of General Wooster and other individuals. Congress, when informed of this transaction, recommended that an inventory of the cannon and military stores found in the fort should be taken, "in order," as they said, "that they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between great Britain and these colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling care of self-preservation."

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* This portrait is in possession of an English gentleman residing at Valparaiso. A descendant of General **Wooster** accidentally met with it there, and had it copied; from that copy our engraving was made. While on this subject, we will add another incident connected with it. The autograph of General **Wooster** is a fac simile from a deed dated May 5th, 1772—the only document we could find bearing his signature—conveying to him the whole township of Wethersfield, in Connecticut, containing twenty-three thousand acres of land, in consideration of five pounds, New York currency, paid to each of the original patentees, twenty-two in number.—Ed.

The military experience as well as the daring spirit of General Wooster recommended him to congress, when raising an army of defence, and among the eight brigadier-generals appointed by that body, on the 22d of June, 1775, he was the third in rank. The operations of that year were principally confined to the vicinity of Boston, and to an expedition against Canada, under the command of General Montgomery.

During the campaign of 1776, General Wooster was employed principally in Canada, and at one time had the command of the continental troops in that quarter. Owing to several circumstances, the Americans lost in Canada, during this year, all that had been gained in the preceding. The small pox which unfortunately broke out among the troops, and the want of medical aid and accommodations, together with the consequent insubordination of the men, may be assigned among the principal causes.

This rendered the situation of the officers in command peculiarly trying, and General Wooster, on his return, requested congress to institute an inquiry into his conduct, while he commanded in Canada. This inquiry was made by a committee of that body, and the general was acquitted of all blame.

After this expedition, he returned home, and was then appointed first major-general of the militia of his state. During the whole winter of 1776–7, he was employed in protecting Connecticut against the enemy, and particularly the neighborhood of Danbury, where large magazines of provisions and other articles had been collected by the Americans. He had just returned to New Haven from one of his tours, when he heard on Friday, 25th of April, '77, that a body of two thousand men sent from New York on the preceding day, had effected a landing between Norwalk and Fairfield, for the purpose of destroying the magazines at Danbury, which object they accomplished the next day.

Immediately on hearing this news, Generals Wooster and Arnold set off from New Haven, to join the militia hastily collected by General Silliman. In consequence of a heavy rain, the militia ordered from New Haven, did not arrive in the vicinity of Danbury, until the 26th, in the evening. The number of the militia thus collected, was about six hundred men, and with this small force it was determined to attack the enemy the following morning on their retreat, and for this purpose a part of the men were put under the command of General Wooster, and a part under General Arnold. General Wooster pursued and attacked the enemy, regardless of the inequality of numbers. But being inexperienced militia, and the enemy having several field pieces, his men, after doing considerable execution, were broken and gave way. The general was rallying them, when unfortunately for his family and his country, he received a mortal wound. A musket ball took him obliquely, broke his back bone, lodged within him and never could be found. He was removed from the field and had his wound dressed by Dr. Turner, and was then conveyed to Danbury, where all possible care was taken of him. The surgeons were from the first aware of the danger of the case, and informed the General of their apprehensions, which he heard with the greatest composure. His wife and son had been sent for, and arrived soon enough to receive his parting benediction. He told them that "he was dying, but with the strong hope and persuasion that his country would gain its independence." How gloriously his presentiment has been verified!

He expired on the 2d of May, 1777, at the age of sixty-seven. His remains were deposited in the burying ground of the village, which he had thus died defending.

Duly sensible of the loss the country had sustained in the death of General Wooster, and justly appreciating, "his merits and services," congress, on the 17th of June following, "*Resolved,*" that a monument should be erected to his memory. They appropriated five hundred dollars for that purpose, and requested the executive of Connecticut to carry their resolution into effect; but it has been neglected, and the bones of the hero lie inglorious in a country graveyard, without even a stone to mark the spot.

T. P.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Among the patriots of the American revolution, who asserted the rights of their country in council, and equally vindicated its cause in the field, the name of Philip Schuyler stands preëminent. In acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism, and persevering and intrepid public efforts, he had no superior; and it is to be regretted that the limits assigned to each portion of biography in the present work, will permit only a rapid sketch of his distinguished services.

General Schuyler was descended from Dutch ancestors, and born at Albany the 22d November, 1733. His paternal grandfather, Colonel Peter Schuyler, was mayor of that city, and commander of the northern militia in 1690. He was also agent of Indian affairs, and presiding member of the provincial council. John Schuyler, his father, left five children, and though as heir at law, his son Philip was entitled to the real estate, he generously shared the inheritance with his brothers and sister. The Saratoga estate, of which the British army, in 1777, made such sad havoc, he inherited from his father's brother. Being deprived of his father while young, he was indebted to his mother, Cornelia Van Cortlandt Schuyler, a lady of strong and cultivated mind, for his early education, and those habits of business, and that unshaken probity, which never forsook him. At the age of sixteen, he was martyr to an hereditary gout, which confined him, while at school at New Rochelle, to his room for nearly a year. But he was still able to prosecute his studies, and to acquire in that period the use of the French language. His learning was of a solid and practical character. His favorite studies were mathematics, and the other exact sciences, and he was enabled in after life to display unusual skill in finance, and as a civil and military engineer, and in all the leading topics of political economy.

He entered the army when the French war broke out in 1755, and commanded a company in the New York levies, which attended Sir William Johnson to Fort Edward and Lake George. He was employed that year in rendering Fort Edward a safe depot of military stores. In 1758 his talents and activity attracted the attention of Lord Viscount Howe, who commanded at Albany the first division of the British army of four thousand men, then preparing for an expedition to Canada. Being in great difficulty in respect to supplies and the means of transportation, Lord Howe had the discernment to select and employ young SCHUYLER in the commissariat department. When it was suggested to him that he was confiding in too young a man for so important a service, he declared that he relied on the practical knowledge and activity of SCHUYLER, and was convinced that he would be enabled to surmount all obstacles. The event justified the choice. The duty was discharged with that sound judgment and calculating precision, that were so often and so signally displayed in his subsequent career. The army under the command of General Abercrombie arrived at the north end of Lake George, early in July, and when Lord Howe fell in a conflict with the French advanced guard, SCHUYLER was directed to cause the body of that lamented young nobleman to be conveyed to Albany and buried there with appropriate honors. He continued afterwards during the war to be employed in the commissary department.

After the peace of 1763, Colonel SCHUYLER (for by that title he was then known) was called into the service of the colony, in various civil employments. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the general assembly, in 1764, to manage the controversy on the part of New York, respecting the partition line between that colony and Massachusetts Bay; and he was actively engaged in that discussion in 1767, with associates and opponents of the first rank and character. In 1768, he was elected a member of the general assembly, for the city and county of Albany, and he continued a member until the colonial legislature, in April 1775, terminated its existence forever. A seat in the assembly at that day, was very important, and an evidence of character as well as influence, inasmuch as the members were few, and chosen exclusively by freeholders, and held their seats for seven years. The services which Colonel SCHUYLER rendered in that station, and the talents, zeal, and intrepidity which he displayed in asserting the constitutional rights of the colonies; and in resisting the claims of the British parliament, and of the colonial governor and council, may be considered as having laid the solid foundation for those marks of distinguished honor and confidence, which his countrymen were afterwards so prompt to bestow. The majority of that assembly were favorable to the interest of the crown, and they continually checked the bold measures of the whigs in their determined opposition to the claims of the parent power. A very difficult, arduous, and responsible duty was imposed upon Colonel SCHUYLER and his leading associates, who were in the minority. It was in the closing scenes of that body, in the winter and spring of 1775, amid the expiring struggles of the ministerial party to uphold the tottering fabric of the British colonial administration, that the talents, zeal, and firmness of the minority shone with the brightest lustre. Every successive motion for several weeks, to give a legislative sanction to the proceedings of the continental congress of 1774, was negatived. But the spirit and resolution of SCHUYLER, as well as of his distinguished companions, George Clinton, Nathaniel Woodhull, Colonel Tenbroeck, and Colonel Philip Livingston, gained strength by defeat, and arose with increasing vigor suitable to the difficulties and solemnity of the crisis. On the 3d of March, eleven distinct divisions on so many different resolutions were taken and entered at large on the journals. The persevering efforts of the minority, and the energy of public opinion fairly dismayed the ministerial majority, and they were impelled, as well from a regard to their own character, as from a sense of what was loudly called for, and due to the occasion, to introduce and sustain sundry measures, which, though rather too tame and loyal for the vehement spirit of the times, yet contained an explicit condemnation of certain acts of parliament, as being public grievances, and dangerous to the rights and liberties of America.

The great scenes of the revolution were now unfolding, and the eyes of his fellow citizens were instantly turned to Colonel SCHUYLER, as one on whom their highest hopes of confidence were placed. He was elected a delegate to the continental congress which assembled in May, 1775, and he had scarcely taken his seat in that assembly, when he was appointed the third major-general of the American army. His services were now to be transferred from the cabinet to the field, and he immediately entered upon his new theatre of action, with surprising promptitude and vigor.

On the 25th of June, he was charged by General Washington with the command of the army in the province of New York, and in his first general orders announcing the command, he at once enjoined order, discipline, neatness, economy, exactness, sobriety, obedience; and that the troops must show to the world that "in contending for liberty, they abhor licentiousness—that in resisting the misrule of tyrants, they will support government honestly administered." He directed his attention specially to the northern frontiers, and called upon the commanding officer there for exact information and specific details, on every subject connected with his command. He was directed by congress, as early as the 1st of July, to repair to the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and make preparations to secure the command of the lake, and, "if practicable and expedient, to take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and Quebec." He at once communicated vigor and rapid motion to every part of his command, and his orders upon all the details involved in preparations for the campaign were exact and specific. But the difficulties in an expedition to Canada without the materials, the equipments, and the habits of war, were clearly perceived by him, and strongly felt; and he surmounted them with a rapidity and success that no other individual could at that period have performed. Before the end of August four regiments moved down the lake from Ticonderoga, under the command of Brigadier-General Montgomery. To add to his other distresses, General SCHUYLER at that crisis was taken down with sickness, and confined in bed with a fever. He nevertheless followed his friend Montgomery, and was carried in a batteaux to the isle Au Noix, where he established his head-quarters on the 8th of September. He was there reduced to a skeleton by a complication of disorders, and was obliged in ten days to return and leave Montgomery, much to the regret of the latter, to command the Canadian expedition. "All my ambition," said that excellent man, and chivalric hero, "is to do my duty in a subordinate capacity, without the least ungenerous intention of lessening the merit so justly your due." General SCHUYLER's services were not lost on his return to Ticonderoga. They were invaluable on the all-important subject of supplies. General Montgomery declared, in his letters of the 6th and 9th of October, that SCHUYLER's foresight and diligence after his return, had saved the expedition. So wisely and promptly did he exert his feeble health, but vigorous mind, to restore order and accelerate supplies of food and clothing to the army, then estimated at three thousand five hundred men, and occupied before St. Johns. No general had greater difficulties to contend with, than Montgomery during his short and disastrous campaign. The effort was too great for his means. There was a deficiency of specie, and military equipments of every kind, and a want of discipline, subordination, economy, and probity, in the various branches of the service. These embarrassments subdued the patience and generous temper of Montgomery, and he frequently in his letters avowed his fixed determination to retire from the service at the end of the campaign. The friendship of the Canadians was to be preserved at all events, and private property sacredly protected, and all Canadian supplies punctually paid for in gold and silver. Congress had attached the utmost importance to the expedition, and expected from the exertions of SCHUYLER, that Canada might be induced to accede to the union of the colonies.

His very impaired health rendered General SCHUYLER's situation oppressive. He was charged with the duty of supplying the Canadian army with recruits, provisions, clothing, arms, and money, and to do it adequately was beyond his power. He was obliged to apply to congress for leave to retire. But his application was not listened to, and on the 30th of November, congress resolved that his conduct, attention, and perseverance, merited the thanks of the united colonies. They expressed, through president Hancock, their "greatest concern and sympathy for his loss of health, and requested that he would not insist on a measure which would deprive America of his zeal and abilities, and rob him of the honor of completing the glorious work which he had so happily and successfully begun." General Washington, who always maintained a close and constant correspondence with SCHUYLER, expressed the same regret and desire, and in his letters of the 5th and 24th December, conjured both him and Montgomery to lay aside all such thoughts of retirement, "alike injurious to themselves, and excessively so to the country. They had not a difficulty to contend with, that he had not in an eminent degree experienced." Who can withhold his unqualified admiration of the man, who gave such advice, at such a crisis! To his incomparable fortitude and inflexible firmness America owes her national existence.

General SCHUYLER determined to continue in the service, and especially, as he said, after the fall of his "amiable friend Montgomery, who had given him so many proofs of the goodness of his heart, and who, as he greatly fell in his country's cause, was more to be envied than lamented." The distressed condition of the northern army in the winter and spring of 1776, was quite unparalleled in the history of the revolution. General SCHUYLER was roused to the utmost limit of exertion in his endeavors to relieve it, by collecting and despatching men, provisions, arms, and military and naval equipments to the northern posts, and to the army. His attention was directed to every quarter, exacting vigilance, order, economy, and prompt execution in all the complicated concerns of the department. His duty was more arduous and difficult; it was inexpressibly vexatious, and could not be sternly and effectually performed without collisions, provoking jealous and angry feelings, and requiring large sacrifices of transient popularity. With his exhausted and debilitated frame of body, every person who saw him, concluded that he must soon sink under the pressure of his duties. His incessant correspondence with congress was full of the best practical advice. At that crisis, congress multiplied his concerns to an overwhelming degree. On the 8th of January, he was required to cause the River St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, to be well explored. He was to fill up blank commissions for the Canada regiments in his discretion. He was to establish an accountability for the waste of the public supplies. He was to put Ticonderoga in a defencible condition. But the army in Canada engrossed his attention. After the death of Montgomery, the command devolved on Brigadier-General Wooster. The most alarming, and next to the want of provisions, the most distressing deficiency in the northern army, was in muskets, ammunition, and cannon. The call was also loud and incessant for specie, and General SCHUYLER went so far, as to raise, on his own personal security, £2,100, York currency, in gold and silver, for that service. Nothing shows more strikingly the want of arms than the fact that even General Washington, in his camp at Cambridge, applied to SCHUYLER for assistance in that particular. "Your letters and mine," said the former, "seem echoes to each other, enumerating our mutual difficulties."

Great apprehension was entertained at this eventful moment, for the disaffected inhabitants in the Mohawk country under the influence of Sir John Johnson, and congress directed General SCHUYLER to cause the tories in that quarter to be disarmed, and their leaders secured. He accordingly marched into that country, in the month of January, and executed the service with such zeal, despatch, and discretion, as to receive the special approbation of congress.

On the 17th February, Major-General Lee was appointed to the command of the northern army, and SCHUYLER was to take his place at New York. This alteration was made, as the president of congress assured him, from the conviction that his infirm state of health was not equal to a winter's campaign in the severe climate of Canada. But the wants of the northern army with the supply of which SCHUYLER was still charged, were so varied and urgent, that he was obliged to confine his head-quarters to Albany; and they were again established there by a resolution of congress of the 6th of March, and that resolution continued in force until May, 1777. The arduous business of supplying an army with food, clothing, and military equipments, though less captivating in its results, is often much more conducive to the safety and success of a campaign, than prowess in the field. General SCHUYLER, by his thorough business habits, his exactness in detail, his keen forecast, his calculating skill, and his fiery vehemence in action, was admirably fitted for either branch of military service; and no person who has studied these campaigns thoroughly, can fail to be convinced, that his versatile talents were fitted equally for investigation and action.

General Lee being sent to the south; Major-General Thomas was, on the 6th of March, appointed to the command of the army in Canada, but with a reliance, as congress declared, on the efforts of General SCHUYLER, "for perfecting the work so conspicuously begun, and so well directed under his orders, the last campaign." Congress, throughout the winter and spring of 1776, continued to consider the possession of Canada and the command of the lake as objects of the first necessity.

When General Thomas succeeded to the command, the army in Canada was extremely weak and in great distress. It was surrounded with difficulties and perils threatening its annihilation. The best intelligence and efforts were called for. Between the 18th of April, and the 11th of July, General SCHUYLER was at the upper posts at Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, active to an amazing degree in directing and stimulating efforts to relieve the army. His wisdom had anticipated the distress, and if congress had complied with his repeated solicitations long before made for large reinforcements, and military means, the most grievious misfortunes in Canada would have been prevented. As early as November 1775, he made earnest suggestions to that effect. After the fall of Montgomery, General Arnold, then before Quebec, gave similar advice, and stated that congress must not think of sending less than eight or ten thousand men. The force and the means were always inadequate to the object, so long as the Canadians remained passive. Congress imputed the failure of the expedition to short enlistments, the want of hard money, and the small force. But other powerful causes operated, such as the want of men and arms, and discipline, and subordination.

On the death of General Thomas, on the 2d of June, Brigadier-General Sullivan succeeded to the command, and the distress and disorganization of the army had then arrived to the utmost height.

All hopes of retaining Canada were gone, and no alternative was left but to make the safest and most expeditious retreat. Regiments were reduced to skeletons. The soldiers became desperate and deserted. "Upwards of forty officers," said Sullivan, "begged leave to resign on the most frivolous pretences." General SCHUYLER gave directions, on the 20th of June, to abandon Canada, and return up the lake. This was accordingly done. General Sullivan left the Sorrell with only two thousand five hundred and thirty-three men, and on the 1st of July, he reached Crown Point with the remains of the army, broken down by sickness, disorder, and discord. The retreat, says SCHUYLER, was conducted with prudence and discernment, and reflected honor upon that commander. At Crown Point, Sullivan met General Gates, who, though a junior officer, was appointed to that command, and Sullivan retired from the department in disgust.

The expedition to Canada having thus miserably terminated, the next great object of SCHUYLER's attention, was to secure the forts on the lake, and to command its waters, as well as to attend to other pressing objects in his widely extended department. On the 14th of June, he had been required by congress to hold a treaty with the six nations of Indians—to fortify Fort Stanwix—to open a military road from Fort Edward—to clear Wood Creek—to establish a canal lock at Skeensborough—to equip a flotilla on Lake Champlain, and to fortify Crown Point or Mount Independence at his discretion. Though he was again visited with the return of the fever of the last season, which served to annoy and dishearten him, his exertions continued unremitted. Crown Point was abandoned by the unanimous advice of a council of his general officers, as not tenable with their present force and means. The act was at first inconsiderately censured, but his clear and skilful reasons for the measure, satisfied the mind of Washington. A flotilla of sixteen vessels was created and equipped for service on the lake by the latter end of August, after infinite embarrassments, and he assigned the command of it to General Arnold, who was active and intrepid. That officer was met, on the 16th of October, by a much superior and better manned English squadron, and after brave and unavailing resistance, his little fleet was defeated and totally destroyed. This put an end to the northern campaign, for the garrison at Ticonderoga and its dependencies, consisting of nine thousand men, was left by General SCHUYLER under the subordinate command of Gates, and they were not disturbed.

In August, General Schuyler held a treaty on the upper Mohawk, with the six Indian nations. The negotiation was of the utmost importance, and that service was of the greatest value. But the presence and maintenance of one thousand eight hundred savages, during a protracted and difficult negotiation was excessively vexatious. The hostile Indians were induced to promise neutrality, and congress afterwards gave their explicit approbation to the trans action.

In the discharge of duty amid such conflicting and harassing services, General Schuyler had excited much popular jealousy and ill-will, arising from the energy of his character, and the dignity of his deportment. The loss of the Canadian campaign was imputed to him. He was disgusted, not only with the want of public candor and gratitude, but even with the want of courtesy and respect towards him by congress, in the irregular appointment of junior officers to separate and independent commands within his military department. Accordingly, on the 14th of September, he tendered once more to congress the resignation of his commission. They resolved that they could not consent to accept his resignation in the then situation of affairs, and they assured him that they bore their willing testimony to his services, and that no aspersions on his character had any influence on their minds. He then resumed his duties with his wonted zeal and energy, and made every manly effort consistent with his station and character, to cultivate unity of views and harmony in his department, and to shew a kind and generous spirit to all his subordinate officers, and particularly to General Gates, who did not meet him with the like magnanimity. Gates had been even rebuked by the commissioners from congress, who visited Canada in the spring of 1776, for his suspicious and unkind feelings towards General Schuyler. Charles Carroll of Carrollton (*nomen venerabile*) in his letter to Gates of the 14th of June, "begged that his suspicions might not prejudice him against Schuyler, for he was confident he was an active and deserving officer." Samuel Chase, another commissioner, in his letter of the same date, recommended to General Gates to place "the most unreserved and unlimited confidence in Schuyler. Be assured, sir, of his integrity, diligence, abilities, and address."

During the past year General Schuyler had extended his views forward to the future, and had repeatedly recommended to congress, and particularly in his letters of the 29th of August, and 16th of October, to make large preparations on land and water, to meet the exigencies of the next northern campaign. On the 11th of November and 2d December he submitted to congress a plan of operations for the ensuing year, both at the north and on the Hudson, and pointed out what was requisite in troops, provisions, artillery, ammunition, fortifications, and naval force. He informed General Washington on the 30th January, 1777, that the ensuing campaign would require at Ticonderoga, ten thousand men, besides two thousand men more, for the several points of communication, and for Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk. His orders to every branch of his department, and his advice to congress, to General Washington, to the authorities in the New England states, and in his own state, were comprehensive, provident, wise, skilful, patriotic, and almost incessant. He did all that the efforts of any one individual could do for the public service, until the 20th of March, when he went to Philadelphia and found himself superseded in effect by General Gates, in his northern command. The orders he had given for the security of Ticonderoga, and the letters he had written to that effect prior to that event, would fill a volume.

He took his seat in congress as a delegate from New York, and at his request, a committee of inquiry was instituted to examine into his military conduct. The satisfaction afforded was prompt and complete, and by the resolution of congress of the 22d of May, he was directed to resume the command of the northern department of New York, consisting of Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies. During the interval of two months that he was in Philadelphia, he was bestowing on the public interests, his usual vigilance. Being the second major-general in the armies of the United States, (General Lee only being his superior,) he was in active command on the Delaware, directing fortifications, and accelerating troops and provisions to the commander-in-chief. He also contributed most essentially while in congress to reorganize the commissary department.

But the storm that was gathering on the frontiers of his native state, soon engrossed all his attention, and he went into the command with an ardor and vigor that can scarcely be conceived. He arrived in Albany on the 3d of June, where he met General Gates The latter, offended with congress for not allowing him to remain commander-in-chief at the north, and unwilling at any rate to serve under Schuyler, who offered him the command at Ticonderoga he, at his own request, had leave to withdraw from the department Nothing, literally nothing, he observed, had been done during his absence, to improve the means of defence on the frontiers. Nothing had been done, comparatively speaking, to supply Ticonderoga with provisions. But General Schuyler was fortunately in this season in good health, a blessing which he had not enjoyed the last two years. He now displayed his activity, fervor, and energy in a brilliant manner. General St. Clair was placed by him in the command at Ticonderoga, and specially directed to fortify Mount Independence. He informed Congress, on the 14th of June, that considering the extensiveness of the works at Ticonderoga, the smallness of the garrison was alarming, and incompetent to maintain it, and that he found the department in the greatest confusion. Application was made to the eastern states to hasten on the remainder of their troops, and he informed them that the garrison at Ticonderoga did not then exceed two thousand two hundred men, sick included. On the 16th of June, General Washington was apprised by him of the fact that he had no troops to oppose to Sir John Johnson on the Mohawk. He visited Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 20th, and found them not in a good state of defence, and very deficient in troops and provisions; but it was resolved, at a council of officers called by him, that they be defended as long as possible. General Schuyler then hastened back to the Hudson, the more effectually to provide for the garrison, reinforcements of provisions and men, and nothing conducive to that great object was omitted. He solicited reinforcements of every kind with intense anxiety. On the 28th of June, he communicated by expresses to General Washington, to the governor of Connecticut, to the president of Massachusetts, to the committee of Berkshire, and to the committee of safety of New York, his apprehensions for the safety of the garrison at Ticonderoga, from the inadequacy of the means of defence. On the 28th and 30th of June, (for dates now become important,) he encouraged St. Clair, that he should move up with the continental troops and militia, as soon as he could possibly set them in motion, and "he hoped to have the pleasure of seeing him in possession of his post." So again on the 5th of July, he assured him the troops from Peekskill, and the militia were in motion, and "he hoped to see him in a day or two." On the 7th, he informed General Washington by letter, that he was up as far as Saratoga, with about seven hundred continental troops, and about one thousand four hundred militia. He was then in the utmost distress for provisions, and he then and there met the news, that General St. Clair had abandoned

Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 6th, with the loss of all his military equipments.

These posts were evacuated upon the advice of a council of officers, founded on the extreme weakness of the garrison, the extensiveness of the works, and an insufficiency of provisions. But General SCHUYLER had given no order for the evacuation. It was done without his advice, direction, or knowledge. It was as much a matter of surprise to him, as to the country. He expected to have been able in a few days to have joined General St. Clair with a very considerable body of troops, and he observed most truly in a letter of the 14th of July, to Chief Justice Jay, "that if Ticonderoga was not sufficiently fortified and supplied with provisions, it was not his fault; if there was a want of men he was not to blame."

The last scene of General SCHUYLER's military life, was full of action befitting the occasion, and worthy of his character. Every quarter of his department was replete with difficulty and danger. The frontier on the Mohawk was menaced by an army of one thousand six hundred regulars, tories, and Indians, under Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, and he cheered and encouraged Brigadier-General Herkimer to rouse the militia, and act with alacrity in defence of that frontier. He addressed the civil and military authorities in every direction, with manly firmness, and the most forcible exhortation to assist him with men, arms, and provisions, "every militia man," he said, "ought to turn out without delay, in a crisis the most alarming since the contest began." He directed that the inhabitants retire from before the enemy, and that every article be brought off or destroyed, that was calculated to assist them—that the roads, causeways, and Wood Creek be rendered impassable. He issued a proclamation to encourage the country, and counteract that of Burgoyne. He assured General Washington, on the 12th of July, that he should retard the enemy's advance by all possible means. "If my countrymen will support me with vigor and dexterity, and do not meanly despond, we shall be able to prevent the enemy from penetrating much further into the country."

St. Clair had not above three thousand five hundred men when he evacuated Ticonderoga, and he joined SCHUYLER with only one thousand five hundred, as the militia, almost to a man, had deserted him, and gone home. Nixon's and Glover's brigades had been ordered by General Washington from Peekskill, to reinforce SCHUYLER, and when the former brigade arrived on the 14th of July, it amounted only to five hundred and seventy-five men, so that General SCHUYLER's whole strength did not then exceed four thousand five hundred men, including regulars and militia; and they were without shelter, or artillery, and sickness, distress and desertion prevailed. The enemy whose triumphant progress he had to check, amounted to upwards of six thousand regular troops, with the best equipments in arms and artillery. Fort George was abandoned on the 14th of July, for it was utterly indefensible, being only part of an unfinished bastion holding one hundred and fifty men. On the 24th of July, SCHUYLER retired with his army to More's Creek, four miles below Fort Edward, as the latter was only a heap of ruins, and always commanded by the neighboring hills. The enemy kept pressing upon his advanced posts, but in the midst of unparalleled difficulties, his retreat was slow and safe, and every inch of ground disputed. The distress of the army, in want of artillery and every other military and comfortable equipment, was aggravated by despondency and sickness, and the restlessness and insubordination of the militia. They could not be detained. Almost all the eastern militia had left the army. By the advice of a council of general officers, SCHUYLER was obliged to let one half of the militia go home under a promise of the residue to continue for three weeks. Though the subject of popular calumny, he did not in the least despond or shrink from his duty. "I shall go on," he writes to General Washington, "in doing my duty, and in endeavors to deserve your esteem." He renewed his call on the eastern states for assistance, and told his friend, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, (whom he always mentioned with the highest esteem, and between whom a mutual confidence and attachment had invariably subsisted,) that "if the eastern militia did not turn out with spirit, and behave better, we should be ruined." The greatest reliance was placed on the efforts of his own more immediate countrymen, and his most pathetic and eloquent appeals were made to the council of safety of the state of New York, for succors to enable him to meet the enemy in the field. By the beginning of August, he was preparing to act on the offensive, and by his orders of the 30th of July and 13th of August, General Lincoln was directed to move with a body of troops to the north of Cambridge, towards Skeensborough, and take command of the troops under General Stark, and Colonel Warner, who had orders to join him; and if he should have force enough, to fall on the enemy in that quarter. As Burgoyne advanced down the Hudson, there was constant skirmishing at the advanced posts, and General SCHUYLER retreated slowly, and in good order down to Saratoga, and then to and below Stillwater, and in every instance by the unanimous advice of his officers.

During this eventful period, the western branch of SCHUYLER's military district was in the utmost consternation and peril. The army under St. Leger had besieged Fort Stanwix, and General Herkimer, with eight hundred of the frontier militia, marching to the relief of the fortress, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, under Sir John Johnson, and defeated at Oriskany, on the 6th of August. On the 16th, General SCHUYLER despatched Arnold with three regiments, amounting in the whole only to five hundred and fifty men, to take charge of the military operations on the Mohawk.

But the period of his eminent services was drawing to a close. Congress, yielding to the clamor and calumny of the people and militia of the eastern states, suspended General SCHUYLER's command, and on the 19th of August, (three days after the victory at Bennington,) General Gates arrived in camp, and superseded him. General SCHUYLER felt acutely the discredit of being recalled in the most critical period of the campaign, and after the labor and activity of making preparations to repair the disasters of it, had been expended by him, and when he was in vigorous preparation to win, and almost in the act to place the laurels of victory on his brow. "I am sensible," said this great and injured man, in his letter to congress, "of the indignity of being ordered from the command of the army, at a time when an engagement must soon take place;" and when, we may add, he had already commenced offensive operations, and laid the foundation of future and glorious triumphs.

Though he was directed by the order of congress of the 1st of August, to repair to head-quarters, he was afterwards allowed by the resolution of congress of the 14th November, to attend to his private affairs, "as they had greatly suffered by the barbarous ravages of the British army," until the committee of inquiry were ready to act. This preëminent patriot, statesman, and soldier, rising above all mean resentments, continued his correspondence with congress, and afforded his valuable counsel. He even tendered to them his gratuitous services as a private gentleman, in any way in which he could be useful. As president of the board of commissioners for Indian affairs, he gave specific advice respecting the conduct of the six nations, and he recommended preparations to carry the war into their territories; and his counsel eventually terminated in the expedition under General Sullivan, in 1779.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

After long and painful delays, in which his eastern enemies, both in and out of Congress, had full opportunity to search for testimony against him, he was gratified with being able to have his military conduct tested before a court-martial, in October, 1778. He was tried and acquitted "with the highest honor" of every charge preferred against him, notwithstanding congress had eight months previously, appointed "two counsellors, learned in the law, to assist and coöperate with the judge-advocate in conducting the trial." The sentence was of course confirmed by congress, and though it was the desire of his friends, and particularly of General Washington, who, in January, 1779, stated to him that "it was very much his desire that he should resume the command of the northern department." He had too much self-respect and pride of character to be shaken in his purpose. After repeated applications, congress, in April, 1779, accepted his resignation, and Schuyler finally withdrew from the army.

He continued during the remainder of his life to be eminently useful in the civil departments of government: he was one of the commissioners from New York in 1784, and again in 1787, to settle the boundary line between that state and Massachusetts: the difficulty depended essentially on the variation of the magnetic needle, and the perusal of the correspondence shows that he executed his trust with great industry and skill. He was continued a delegate in congress from New York in 1778 and 1779, and all the authorities and leading patriots of that state, and his fellow-citizens at large, who thoroughly knew his worth and transcendent merits, continued to afford fresh proofs in every way, and on every proper occasion, of their warmest affection, and exalted sense of his talents, activity, and devotion to his country. In 1781, and for several years thereafter, he was a member of the New York senate. He took a zealous part in promoting the adoption of the constitution of the United States, and in 1789 he was elected a member of the first senate under that constitution. His sagacity, and practical skill and zeal for the public interests, led him to give the earliest and most strenuous support to measures for the improvement of internal navigation. He drafted the acts for incorporating the western and northern inland lock navigation companies, and was placed at the head of the direction of both those companies, and he was truly the master spirit which infused life and vigor into the whole undertaking. He had sketched and caused to be executed, the plan of locks at the little falls on the Mohawk, and of connecting the head waters of the

Mohawk and Wood Creek. Those feeble beginnings led on step by step to the bolder and glorious consummation of the Erie canal.

In 1796 he urged, in his place in the New York senate, and afterwards published in a pamphlet form, his plan for the improvement of the revenue of the state. It contemplated the institution of the office of comptroller, and that branch of the plan was literally adopted by the legislature. He demonstrated that upon the measures he suggested, the surplus fund, beyond all reasonable wants, might at the period of 1826, or thirty years from that time, be made to accumulate to three million five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. But he predicted that under bad management "very little principal would be left, and the people burthened with taxes for the support of government."

In 1797 SCHUYLER was unanimously elected once more a senator in congress, and he took a final leave of the senate of his native state, in an affecting address, which to his honor was ordered to be inserted on their journal. General SCHUYLER at that time labored under the pressure of ill health, and he was not able long to continue his seat in congress. He lived for the last few years of his life in dignified retirement, commanding universal veneration and attachment, arising from the known memorials of his illustrious services; his stern integrity; his social virtues; his polished manners; his extensive knowledge; his generous hospitality. When Washington died he clothed himself in mourning. His bodily health was not only broken down by disease, but he was severely visited with domestic afflictions. In 1801 he lost his daughter, Mrs. Van Rensselaer, which dissolved an honorable and highly gratifying family connexion. In 1803 he lost the wife of his youth, and was left at the age of seventy in painful solitude. In July, 1804, he was deprived, under circumstances the most distressing, of his beloved and distinguished son-in-law, General Hamilton. "Consolation," as he afterwards stated in a letter of the 6th of August, "was to be sought, where it can only be truly and effectually found, in an humble acquiescence with the Divine will." This great man died on the 18th of November, 1804, at the age of seventy-one, leaving in the history and institutions of his country, durable monuments of his fame.

J. K.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Alexander Hamilton, whose life is deeply interwoven with the history of the American revolution, with the formation and adoption of the constitution of the United States, and with the civil administration of Washington, was born in the island of Nevis, in the British West Indies, January 11th, 1757. He was of Scottish descent. His paternal grandfather resided at the family seat of Grange in Ayrshire, in Scotland. His father was bred a merchant, and went to the West Indies in that character, where he became unsuccessful in business, and subsequently lived in a state of pecuniary dependence. His mother was of a French family, and possessed superior accomplishments of mind and person. She died when he was a child, and he received the rudiments of his early education in the island of St. Croix.

He was taught when young to speak and write the French language fluently, and he displayed an early and devoted attachment to literary pursuits. His studies were under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Knox, a respectable Presbyterian clergyman, who gave to his mind a strong religious bias, which was never eradicated, and which displayed itself strongly and with consoling influence on his death-bed, though it may have been checked and diverted during the ardor and engrossing scenes of his military and political life. In 1769, he was placed as a clerk in the counting-house of Mr. Nicholas Cruger, an opulent and highly respectable merchant of St. Croix. Young Hamilton went through the details of his clerical duty with great assiduity and fidelity, and he manifested a capacity for business, which attracted the attention and confidence of his patron. He displayed, at that early age, the most aspiring ambition, and showed infallible symptoms of superior genius. "I contemn," said he in a letter to a confidential school-fellow, "the grovelling condition of a clerk, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station; I mean to prepare the way for futurity." This extraordinary feeling and determined purpose in a youth of twelve years; this ardent love for fame, and the still stronger attachment to character, were felt and exhibited in every period of his after life.

While he was in Mr. Cruger's office, HAMILTON devoted all his leisure moments to study. Mathematics, chemistry, ethics, biography, knowledge of every kind, occupied his anxious researches. In 1772, he gave a precise and elegant description of the hurricane which had recently swept over some of the islands, and which was anonymously published in the island of St. Christopher, where it excited general attention, and contributed to give a happy direction to his future fortunes. When the author became known, his relations and patrons resolved to send him to the city of New York, for the purpose of a better education.

He arrived in New York in October, 1772, and was immediately placed at a grammar school, at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, under the tuition of Mr. Francis Barber, who afterwards was distinguished as an accomplished officer in the American service. HAMILTON entered King's (now Columbia) College at the close of 1773, where he soon "gave extraordinary displays of richness of genius and energy of mind."

His active and penetrating mind was employed, even at college, in sustaining and defending the colonial opposition to the acts of the British parliament. In July 1774, while a youth of seventeen, he appeared as a speaker at a great public meeting of citizens in the fields, (now the park in front of the city hall,) and enforced the duty of resistance by an eloquent appeal to the good sense and patriotism of his auditors. He also vindicated the cause of the colonies with his pen in several anonymous publications. In December 1774, and February 1775, he was the author of some elaborate pamphlets in favor of the pacific measures of defence, recommended by congress. He suggested at that early day the policy of giving encouragement to domestic manufactures, as a sure means of lessening the need of external commerce. He anticipated ample resources at home, and, among other things, observed that several of the southern colonies were so favorable in their soil and climate to the growth of cotton, that such a staple alone, with due cultivation, in a year or two would afford products sufficient to clothe the whole continent. He insisted upon our unalienable right to the steady, uniform, unshaken security of constitutional freedom; to the enjoyment of trial by jury; and to the right of freedom from taxation, except by our own immediate representatives; and that colonial legislation was an inherent right, never to be abandoned or impaired.

In the course of this pamphlet controversy, HAMILTON became engaged, though unsuspected by his opponents, in an animated discussion with Dr. Cooper, principal of the college, and with wits and politicians of established character on the ministerial side of the question. The profound principles, able reasoning, and sound policy contained in the pamphlets, astonished his adversaries; and the principal of them held it to be absurd to suppose that so young a man as HAMILTON could be the author. He was thenceforward cherished and revered by the whigs of New York as an oracle.

The war had now commenced in Massachusetts bay, and HAMILTON, young, ardent, and intrepid, was among the earliest of his fellow-citizens to turn his mind to the military service. In 1775, and while at college, he joined a volunteer corps of militia in the city of New York, studied the details of military tactics, and endeavored to reduce them to practice. And while he was most active in promoting measures of resistance, he was busy also in studying the science of political economy, relative to commerce, the balance of trade, and the circulating medium; and which were soon to become prominent topics of speculation under the new aspects of social and political organization, of which the elements were then forming. In checking the wild spirit of mobs, he showed himself equally the intrepid advocate of freedom, and the enemy of all popular misrule and licentiousness.

On the 14th March, 1776, HAMILTON was appointed captain of a provincial company of artillery, in the city of New York, and in that rank he was soon in active service, and brought up the rear of the army in the retreat from Long Island. He was in the action at White Plains, on the 28th of October, 1776, and by that time his character and conduct had attracted the observing eye of Washington. He was with his artillery company, firm and active, in the retreat through New Jersey, and resisted the progress of the British troops on the banks of the Raritan. He was with his command at Trenton and Princeton, and he continued in the army until the 1st of March, 1777, when he was appointed aid-de-camp to General Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Colonel HAMILTON remained in the family of the commander-in-chief until February, 1781, and during that long and eventful period of the war, he was, in the language of Washington himself, "his principal and most confidential aid." In that auspicious station, and in the very general intercourse with the officers of the army and the principal men of the country which it created, he had ample opportunities to diffuse the knowledge of his talents and the influence of his accomplishments. As he spoke the French language with facility, he became familiar with the officers of the French army in America, and with the distinguished foreign officers in the American service. He recommended himself to their confidence by his kindness and his solicitude to serve them in the best manner. Their attachment and admiration were won by his genius and the goodness and frankness of his heart. This was particularly the case in respect to the Marquis Lafayette, and the Baron Steuben.

The principal labor of the correspondence of the commander-in-chief fell upon HAMILTON; and the most elaborate communications of that kind are understood to have been made essentially with his assistance. In November 1777, he was deputed by Washington to procure from General Gates at Albany reinforcements of troops, which were exceedingly wanted for the army before Howe in Philadelphia. His object was to obtain the three continental brigades, then under Gates, and without any northern enemy to employ them. But General Gates insisted on retaining at least two of the brigades, and would only consent to part with the weakest of the three. The negotiation was conducted by Colonel HAMILTON with consummate discretion; and without having recourse to the absolute authority of the commander-in-chief, he overcame, by dint of argument, the unreasonable reluctance and dangerous temper of insubordination in Gates, and procured the march to head quarters of two of the brigades. In 1778, the accuracy of HAMILTON's judgment was tested on the subject of the inspector-general of the army, and in the appointment of Baron Steuben, and the designation of his powers and duties. He was in the same year intrusted by General Washington with much discretion respecting a general exchange of prisoners with the enemy; and he was very efficient and most happy in his advice in favor of the attack of the enemy upon their retreat through New Jersey, in June 1778, in opposition to the opinion of a majority of a council of war consulted on that occasion. The determination to attack led on to the action of Monmouth, in which fresh honor was added to the American arms. Colonel HAMILTON was that day in the field under the Marquis Lafayette, and his merit was very conspicuous in the activity, skill, and courage which he displayed.

The finances of the United States had become involved in great disorder, and the enormous issues of paper currency to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars, and its consequent depreciation almost to worthlessness, had prostrated public credit. The government and the army were reduced to the greatest difficulties and distress, from the want of means to sustain themselves, and support the war. In this extremity, the mind of Colonel Hamilton was turned to the contemplation of the subject, and the means of relief. He was led on to those profound investigations in reference to the complicated subjects of finance, currency, taxation, and the fittest means to restore confidence, by the mastery of which he was afterwards destined to be "the founder of the public credit of the United States." In 1779, he addressed a letter to Robert Morris, one of the first commercial characters of the country, giving in detail his plan of finance. The restoration of the depreciated currency, and of credit and confidence, was not to be effected by expedients within our own resources. The only relief, as he declared, was to be sought in a foreign loan to the extent of two millions sterling, assisted by a vigorous taxation, and a bank of the United States to be instituted by congress for ten years, and to be supported by the foreign as well as by domestic loans in the depreciated currency at a very depreciated ratio. This institution was to rest on the firm footing of public and private faith, and was to supply the want of a circulating medium, and absorb the depreciated paper, and furnish government with the requisite loans. The scheme was in part adopted in June 1780, by the voluntary institution, through the agency of a number of patriotic individuals, of the bank of Pennsylvania, and which received the patronage of congress. Colonel Hamilton looked with intense anxiety on the distresses of the country, and he perceived and avowed the necessity of a better system of government, and one not merely advisory, but reorganized on foundations of greater responsibility, and more efficiency. He addressed a very interesting letter to Mr. Duane, a member of congress from New York, on the state of the nation. This letter appears at this day, with all the lights and fruits of our experience, as masterly in a pre-eminent degree. He went on to show the defects and total inefficiency of the articles of confederation, and to prove that we stood in need of a national government, with the requisite sovereign powers, such, indeed, as the confederation theoretically contained, but without any fit organs to receive them. He suggested the idea of a national convention to amend and reorganize the government. This was undoubtedly the ablest and truest production on the state of the union, its finances, its army, its miseries, its resources, its remedies, that appeared during the revolution. It contained in embryo the existing federal constitution, and it was the production of a young man of the age of twenty-three.

In October 1780, Hamilton earnestly recommended to General

Washington the selection of General Greene, for the command of the southern army, which Gates had just left in disorganization and scattered fragments. He had early formed an exalted opinion of the merits of Greene, and entertained unmeasured confidence in his military talents, and "whose genius," as he said, "carried in it all the resources of war." In December 1780, he married the second daughter of Major-General Schuyler, and in the February following, he retired from the family of General Washington, but still retained his rank in the army, and was exceedingly solicitous to obtain a separate command in some light corps. Being relieved from the active duties imposed upon him as an aid, his mind became thoroughly engrossed with the situation of the country, which was in every view replete with difficulties, and surrounded with danger. Public credit was hastening to an irretrievable catastrophe. In April 1781, he addressed a letter to Mr. Morris, the superintendant of finance, on the state of the currency and finances, and he transmitted the plan of a national bank, as the only expedient that could give to government an extensive and sound paper credit, and as being essential to our success and safety. He reasoned out the utility and policy of a bank, and met and answered the objections to it with a force, perspicuity, and conclusiveness, that swept away every difficulty, and carried with it almost universal conviction. The plan of a national bank was submitted to congress by Mr. Morris, in May, 1781 and they adopted it with great unanimity, and resolved to incorporate and support it under the name of the Bank of North America. That institution, with the incipient and more feeble aid of the bank of Pennsylvania, then in operation, was of inestimable service in restoring and sustaining the credit of the country; in bringing forward our resources, and carrying on the operations of the army during the concluding scenes of the war.

The last act of Colonel HAMILTON's military life, was at the siege of Yorktown, in Virginia. After repeated solicitations, he was at last gratified with the command of a corps of light infantry, attached to the division under the command of his friend, the Marquis Lafayette, and he was so fortunate as to be able to lead the night attack by assault of one of the enemy's redoubts, and which was carried with distinguished rapidity and bravery. This event was the consummation of his wishes. The active service of the army had now ended. He immediately turned his attention to the duties and business of civil life; and having selected the profession of the law, he fitted himself for admission, in 1782, to the bar of the supreme court of New York with surprising facility, and with high credit to his industry and research.

The country being about to settle down in peace, our civil government became the primary object of attention to reflecting statesmen. The defects of the confederation had grown to be prominent and glaring. The machine had become languid and worthless, and especially after the extraordinary energy and enthusiasm of the war-spirit, which had once animated it, had been withdrawn. In the winter of 1781–2, Mr. Hamilton wrote a number of anonymous essays in the country papers in New York, under the signature of the *Continentalist*, in which he went largely into an examination of the defects of the confederation, and into an enumeration of the powers with which it ought to be clothed. In the summer of 1782, he was appointed by the legislature of New York, a delegate to congress. The same legislature that appointed him unanimously passed resolutions, introduced into the senate by General Schuyler, declaring that the confederation was defective in not giving to congress power to provide a revenue for itself, or in not investing them with funds from established and productive sources; and that it would be advisable for congress to recommend to the states to call a general convention to revise and amend the confederation.*

Colonel Hamilton took his seat in congress, in November, 1782, and continued there until the autumn of 1783, and the proceedings of congress immediately assumed a new and more vigorous tone and character. He became at once engaged in measures calculated to relieve the embarrassed state of the public finances, and avert the dangers which beset the union of the states. His efforts to reanimate the power of the confederation, and to infuse some portion of life and vigor into the system, so as to render it somewhat adequate to the exigencies of the nation, were incessant. He was sustained in all his views, by that great statesman, the superintendant of finance, and by some superior minds in congress, and especially by Mr. Madison, whose talents, enlightened education, and services, were of distinguished value in that assembly. On the 6th of December, 1782, he moved and carried a resolution that the superintendant of finance represent to the legislatures of the several states, the indispensable necessity of complying with the requisitions of congress, for raising specified sums of money towards sustaining the expenses of government, and paying a year's interest on the domestic debt. On the 11th of the same month, he was chairman of the committee which reported the form of an application to the governor of Rhode Island, urging in persuasive terms, the necessity and reasonableness of the concurrence on the part of that state, in a grant to congress of a general import duty of five per cent., in order to raise a fund to discharge the national debt. It contained the assurance that the increasing discontents of the army, the loud clamors of the public creditors, and the extreme disproportion between the annual supplies and the demands of the public service, were invincible arguments in favor of that source of relief; and that calamities the most menacing might be anticipated if that expedient should fail. So again on the 16th of December, he was chairman of the committee that made a report of a very superior character in vindication of the same measure. On the 20th of March, 1783, Mr. HAMILTON submitted to congress another plan of a duty of five per cent., *ad valorem*, on imported goods, for the discharge of the army debt. On the 22d of that month, he again, as chairman, reported in favor of a grant of five years' full pay to the officers of the army, as a commutation for the half pay for life which had some time before been promised by congress. On the 24th of April following, he, as one of the committee, agreed to the report which Mr. Madison drew and reported as chairman, containing an address to the states in recommendation of the five per cent. duty; a document equally replete with clear and sound reasoning, and manly and elegant exhortation.

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* This sketch has hitherto been chiefly made from materials contained in the first volume of the "Life of Alexander Hamilton," by his son, John C. Hamilton. That volume carries the biography down to this period, and it is a production deeply interesting. The filial reverence of the historian awakens our sensibility, and he commands our confidence by his frankness, his pains-taking research, his documentary accuracy, and sound principles, his just reflections, and perspicuous and elegant narration.

If such a series of efforts to uphold the authority and good faith of the nation failed at the time, yet HAMILTON and the other members of congress who partook of his fervor and patriotism, had the merit, at least, of preserving the honor of congress, while every other attribute of power was lost. There are other instances on record in the journals of that memorable session, in which Colonel HAMILTON was foremost to testify national gratitude for services in the field, and to show a lively sense of the sanctity of national faith. He was chairman of the committee which reported resolutions honorable to the character and services of Baron Steuben; and he introduced a resolution calling upon the states to remove every legal obstruction under their local jurisdictions in the way of the entire and faithful execution of the treaty of peace. His seat in congress expired at the end of the year 1783; but his zeal for the establishment of a national government, competent to preserve us from insult abroad and degradation and dissension at home, and fitted to restore credit, to protect liberty, and to cherish and display our resources, kept increasing in intensity. His statesman-like views became more and more enlarged and comprehensive, and the action of his mind more rapid, as we approached the crisis of our destiny.

On the recovery of New York in the autumn of 1783, Mr. HAMILTON assumed the practice of the law; but his mind was still deeply occupied with discussions concerning the public welfare. In the winter of 1784, his pamphlet productions under the signature of *Phocion*, and addressed "to the considerate citizens of New York," excited very great interest. Their object was to check the intemperate spirit which prevailed on the recovery of the city of New York; to vindicate the constitutional and treaty rights of all classes of persons inhabiting the southern district of New York, then recently recovered from the enemy's possession; and to put a stop to every kind of proscriptive policy and legislative disabilities, as being incompatible with the treaty of peace, the spirit of whiggism, the dictates of policy, and the voice of law and justice. His appeal to the good sense and patriotism of the public was not made in vain. The force of plain truth carried his doctrines along against the stream of prejudice, and overcame every obstacle.

Colonel HAMILTON had scarcely began to display his great powers as an advocate at the bar, when he was again called into public life. He was elected a member of assembly for the city of New York, in 1786, and in the ensuing session he made several efforts to surmount the difficulties, and avert the evils, which encompassed the country. The state of Vermont was in fact independent, but she was not in the confederacy. His object was to relieve the nation from such a peril, and he introduced a bill into the house of assembly renouncing jurisdiction over that state, and preparing the way for its admission into the union. His proposition was ably resisted by counsel, heard at the bar of the house, and acting on behalf of claimants of lands in Vermont, under grant from New York. Mr. HAMILTON promptly met and answered the objections to the bill with his usual ability and familiar knowledge of the principles of public law. In the same session he made bold but unavailing efforts to prop up and sustain the tottering fabric of the confederation, and the prostrate dignity and powers of congress. His motion and very distinguished speech in favor of the grant to congress of an import duty of five per cent., was voted down in silence without attempting an answer. But a new era was commencing. The clouds began to disperse, and the horizon was soon seen to kindle and glow with the approaches of a brighter day. HAMILTON was destined to display the rich fruits of his reflection and experience, and his entire devotedness to his country's cause in a more exalted sphere. In the same session he was appointed one of the three New York delegates to the general convention, recommended by congress to be held at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, to revise and amend the articles of confederation.

His services in that convention were immensely valuable. All contemporary information confirms it. His object was to make the experiment of a great federative republic, moving in the largest sphere, and resting entirely on a popular basis, as complete, satisfactory, and decisive as possible, in favor of civil liberty, public security and national greatness. He considered the best interests of mankind, and the character of free and popular institutions, as being deeply, and perhaps finally, involved in the result. Experimental propositions were made in the convention, and received as suggestions for consideration. The highest toned proposition which he ever made, was that the president and senate should be elected by electors chosen by the people, and that they as well as the judges should hold their offices during good behavior, and that the house of representatives should be elected triennially. His opinions essentially changed during the progress of the discussions, and he became satisfied that it would be dangerous to the public tranquillity, to elect by popular election a chief magistrate with so permanent a tenure; and towards the close of the convention, his subsequent plan gave to the office of president a duration of only three years.

When the constitution adopted by the convention was submitted to the consideration of the American people, Mr. HAMILTON, in association with Mr. Jay and Mr. Madison, commenced a series of essays under the signature of *Publius*, in explanation and vindication of the principles of the government. Those essays compose the two Volumes of that celebrated and immortal work "The Federalist." Several numbers appeared successively every week in the New York papers, between October, 1787, and the spring of 1788. The whole work consists of eighty-five numbers. Mr. Jay wrote five, Mr. Madison upwards of twenty, and Mr. HAMILTON the residue. The value of the union, the incompetency of the articles of confederation to preserve it, and the necessity of a government organized upon the principles, and clothed with the powers, of the one presented to the public, were topics discussed with a talent, force, information, skill, and eloquence, to which we had not been accustomed. Mr. Hamilton was also a member of the New York state convention, which met at Poughkeepsie in June, 1788. That convention was composed of many distinguished individuals of great weight of character. Most of them had been disciplined in the varied services of the revolution. But as Mr. Hamilton had been a leading member of the national convention, and had signed the instrument before them, he felt and nobly sustained the weight of the responsibility attached to his situation and as he had been also a leading writer in the Federalist, his mind was familiar with the principles of the constitution, and with every topic of debate. The wisdom of the commentator was displayed and enforced by the eloquence of the orator. He was prompt, ardent, energetic, and overflowing with an exuberance of argument and illustration.

After the constitution had been adopted by the requisite number of states, it went into operation in the course of the year 1789; and when the treasury department was established, Colonel Hamilton was appointed secretary of the treasury. He remained in that office upwards of five years, and resigned it in January, 1795, after having built up and placed on sound foundations the fiscal concerns of the nation confided to his care, so as to leave to his successors little more to do than to follow his precepts, and endeavor to shine by the imitation of his example. His great duty consisted in devising and recommending a suitable provision for the gradual restoration of public credit and the faithful discharge of the national debt. His reports as secretary, made under the direction of the house of representatives, were so many didactic dissertations, laboriously wrought and highly finished, on some of the most difficult and complicated subjects in the science of political economy. Among those reports, the most interesting were, first, his report of January, 1790, on a provision for the support of public credit, in which he showed the necessity of funding the public debt; the inexpedience of discrimination between original and present holders of it; and the expediency of assuming the state debt. Second, his report of December, 1790, on the establishment of a national bank, in which he demonstrated that it was within the reach of the legitimate powers of the government, and essential to the convenient and prosperous administration of the national finances. His reasoning was so clear and cogent, that it carried the measure triumphantly through congress; notwithstanding the objections of Mr. Jefferson in the executive cabinet, he satisfied the cautious and solid judgment of Washington. Third, his report of December, 1791, on the subject of domestic manufactures. This was one of his most elaborate reports, equally distinguished for knowledge and strength; and he seems not to have entertained a doubt, either of the constitutional right of congress to exercise its sound discretion on the subject or of the wisdom of the legislative encouragement of them in particular cases. Fourth, his report of January, 1795, on a plan for the further support of public credit. In his view, the true principle to render public credit immortal, was to accompany the creation of debt with the means of extinguishing it; and he recommended a provision for augmenting the sinking fund, so as to render it commensurate with the entire debt of the United States. By these financial measures which he had the honor to suggest and recommend, he enabled his country to feel and develope its immense resources; and under his administration public credit was awakened from death unto life, and rose with fair proportions and gigantic strength, so as to engage the attention and command the confidence of Europe. In connection with these splendid results, the integrity and simplicity with which he conducted his department, and which the most jealous and penetrating inquisition into all the avenues of his office could never question, forms with posterity one of his fairest titles to fame.

While Colonel Hamilton presided over the treasury department, the French revolution burst forth with destructive violence, and brought on an embittered war between Great Britain and the French republic. Being a member of President Washington's cabinet council, Mr. Hamilton was one of the advisers of the proclamation of neutrality in April, 1793, and he supported it by his vigorous pen. That proclamation was the index to the foreign policy of Washington, and it was temperately but firmly maintained against the intrigue and insolence of the French minister to the United States, and against all the force and fury of the turbulent passions of the times, engendered and inflamed by the French democracy. He aided the American policy of neutrality in some fugitive pieces under the signature *No Jacobin*, and in the more elaborate essays of *Pacificus*, and vastly more so by his advice in favor of the timely mission of Chief Justice Jay, as minister extraordinary to Great Britain, in the spring of 1794.

After Colonel Hamilton's return to private life and to the practice of his profession in the city of New York, he felt himself called upon by a sense of duty to vindicate the justice and wisdom of Mr. Jay's treaty, which had adjusted and extinguished the complaints and difficulties existing between the two nations. This he did in a series of essays under the signature of *Camillus*, in the summer of 1795.

They were profound and exhausting commentaries on particular branches of public law, and sustained with great ability and a thorough knowledge of the subject, the grounds on which our treaty and neutral claims and commercial interests had been ascertained and adjusted.

On reassuming his profession, Colonel HAMILTON entered at once into an overwhelming share of professional business. He was a great favorite with the New York merchants; and he justly deserved to be so, for he had uniformly proved himself to be an enlightened, intrepid, and persevering friend to the commercial prosperity of the country. He was a great master of commercial law, as well as of the principles of international jurisprudence. There were no deep recesses of the science which he did not explore. He would occasionally draw from the fountains of the civil law, and illustrate and enforce the enlightened decisions of Mansfield, by the severe judgment of Emerigon, and the lucid commentaries of Valin. In short, he conferred dignity and high reputation on the profession, of which he was indisputably the first of the first rank, by his indefatigable industry, his thorough researches, his logical powers, his solid judgment, his winning candor, and his matchless eloquence.

In the spring of 1798, he was involved once more in political discussion. The depredations of France upon our commerce, and the insults heaped upon our ministers, left to this country no alternative but open and determined resistance. At that crisis Mr. HAMILTON published a number of essays in the New York papers under the signature of *Titus Manlius*, with a view to rouse the people of this country to a sense of impending danger, and to measures of defence which should be at once vigorous and effectual. No productions of any pen ever portrayed in more just and more glowing colors, the atrocities of revolutionary France towards her own people, and towards other nations, under the impetus of unprincipled ambition and ruthless fanaticism. He suggested that we ought to suspend our treaties with France, fortify our harbors, protect our commerce, attack their predatory cruisers on our coast, create a respectable naval force, and raise, organize, and discipline a respectable body of troops, as an indispensable precaution against attempts at invasion. The facts were so undeniable, and the conclusions so just, that in the summer of 1798, all those precautionary and necessary measures were literally carried into execution by congress, and received the prompt and hearty sanction of the nation. At the earnest recommendation of General Washington, Hamilton was appointed inspector-general of the small provincial army that was raised in that year.

That public trust did not detach him from his profession, nor long detain him from its duties. He continued his devotedness to the bar during the short residue of his life. In the winter of 1804, Colonel Burr was proposed at Albany as a candidate for governor. General Hamilton, at a public meeting of persons belonging to the federal party, decidedly objected to the nomination, declaring that he deemed Colonel Burr an unsafe and unfit person to be placed in such a trust, and that he would never unite with his party on such a candidate. Declarations of that kind made on public and patriotic grounds, and when it was his right and his duty to make them if he thought so, (and of which no one doubted,) cost him his life. In the summer following, after Colonel Burr had lost the election, he deemed it expedient to call General Hamilton personally to account for what he had said. The latter very mistakingly thought it necessary to meet his antagonist in the field. He fell on the 12th July, 1804, and all America mourned over the fate of such an innocent and illustrious victim.

J. K.

JOHN EAGER HOWARD.

In the history of the world there is no instance, where love of country has been exhibited in bolder deeds, than by those who carried us through the struggle for independence. The battles which were fought employed but few persons, it is true, compared with the immense armies brought into the field by more recent warfare; but then the stake for which they contended was of such magnitude, that the present political condition of the civilized world can be traced up to its being won. The narratives of battles fought by armies of fifty or a hundred thousand men upon a side, confuse the reader by their number and perplexing generalities; but we view the struggle of smaller bodies, with some portion of the intense interest with which we would regard a tournament, where every thrust of the lance or stroke of the sword would be visible with painful distinctness. In the hard fought battles of the south, we can trace the movement of almost every corps; and although much controversy has arisen within the last few years respecting many of them, yet none has existed with regard to the conspicuous part acted by the subject of this memoir.

John Eager Howard was born on the 4th of June, 1752, in Baltimore county, and state of Maryland. His grandfather, Joshua Howard, an Englishman by birth, having when very young left his father's house, in the vicinity of Manchester, to join the army of the Duke of York, subsequently James the second, during Monmouth's insurrection, was afterwards afraid to encounter his parents' displeasure, and came to seek his fortune in America. This was in the year 1685–6. He obtained a grant of the land in Baltimore county, upon which Colonel Howard was born, (and which is still in the family,) and married Miss Joanna O'Carroll, whose father had lately emigrated from Ireland. Cornelius, one of his sons by this lady, and father of the subject of this sketch, married Miss Ruth Eager, whose estate adjoined, and now constitutes a part of the city of Baltimore. The Eagers came from England, probably soon after the charter to Lord Baltimore; but the records afford little information prior to 1658, when the estate near Baltimore was purchased. During the interval of a century that elapsed between the emigration of these early settlers and the revolution, the ancestors of Colonel HOWARD appear to have pursued the quiet occupation of cultivating their farms, without participating in the political concerns of the colony. At least, no traces can now be discovered of their activity. JOHN EAGER HOWARD, not educated for any particular profession, was induced to take up arms by the circumstances of his country. Upon his expressing a desire to take a part in the approaching struggle, one of the committee of safety offered to procure for him the commission of colonel; but he expressed his distrust of being able to perform the duties appertaining to so high a rank, and preferred the humbler station of a captain. Such a commission was accordingly obtained, in one of those bodies of militia termed flying camps, in the regiment commanded by Colonel J. Carvil Hall. The commission was made dependant upon his ability to recruit thirty men.

Such was the esteem in which Captain HOWARD was held in his neighborhood, that he enlisted a company in two days, and marched immediately to join the army. He was present at the battle of White Plains, and continued to serve until December, 1776, when his corps was dismissed. In the preceding September, congress had wisely resolved to raise eighty-eight battalions to serve during the war, the officers of which were to be commissioned by congress; and in the organization of the number allotted to Maryland, Captain HOWARD was requested to accept the situation of major. The winter of 1776–7 was industriously devoted to raising troops upon the continental establishment, and early in April we find him marching with part of his regiment to join the army at Rocky Hill, near Princeton, with which he continued until the British crossed over to Staten Island, on the 30th of June, when he received information of the death of his father; upon which Colonel Hall sent him home to superintend the recruiting service. In the following September he rejoined the army, a few days after the battle of Brandywine, and at the battle of Germantown gave conspicuous proofs of that cool courage which afterwards so greatly distinguished him. As the incidents of this action have become the theme of discussion, in consequence of Judge Johnson's account of it in his life of Greene, and as this is not the appropriate occasion to review the controversy, even if sufficient materials were at hand, we shall confine our remarks to the personal share and observation which Major Howard experienced. He was then major of the fourth regiment, commanded by Colonel Hall; and in consequence of the latter's being disabled early in the action, and Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith having been detached to Fort Mifflin, Major Howard assumed the command of the regiment, which formed a part of Sullivan's division, upon the extreme left when displayed, and upon the west side of the Germantown road. In the attack these troops encountered the British corps of light infantry, which had been posted some distance in advance of the main body, and after a sharp contest, pursued them through their encampment, Major Howard passing with his regiment amidst the standing tents. Continuing upon the west side of the road, and passing Chew's house without any serious injury from the fire of the British troops then occupying it, the Maryland troops (almost exclusively composing Sullivan's division) advanced about a quarter of a mile farther towards the main body of the British army, where they maintained their position until the unsuccessful attack upon the house caused a retreat. Upon again passing this temporary fortress, (the unfortunate character of which was amply redeemed as far as Major Howard was personally concerned, by his finding it, a few years afterwards, the summer residence of the lady whom he married,) the garrison sallied out and attacked their retiring foe; but a return of the fire killed the officer who commanded the party, and no farther molestation ensued. It was the opinion of Colonel Howard, that instead of Musgrave's retreat into the house being a prompt movement, the hasty resolution of military genius stimulated by the pressure of instant danger, it was only the execution of a plan previously digested and arranged in case of attack. After the marriage of Colonel Howard, he was repeatedly shown, both by the family and neighbors, the ground where Musgrave had been encamped for some time previous to the battle, and which, from its vicinity to the house, was probably selected for the purpose. So firmly was he persuaded of this, that he did not believe Musgrave to have been with the light infantry when they were defeated, as above stated. The occupancy of the house and consequent halt of a portion of the American troops, certainly exercised a most pernicious influence upon the result of the battle, although it could not have been the only cause of failure, because a body of troops (Muhlenberg and Scott's brigades) passed it upon the eastern, whilst the Marylanders were passing it upon the western side. Those upon the east penetrated so far into the British lines, that the gallant ninth Virginia regiment was assailed in front and upon both flanks. Mathews surrendered, but nine bayonet wounds bore evidence that he had resisted to the very last extremity. If the question should occur, why the concert of operations was not renewed after so many corps had passed Chew's house, the answer is given by referring to the dense fog which covered the earth, so that the positions of the various divisions could not be ascertained. General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney described the fog as follows:—"the only way we knew of the enemy's being drawn up in opposition to us was, by their fire and whistling of their balls; and it was some time after they retreated before we knew of it, and that only by our not hearing the whistling of their balls, and seeing no flashes in our front."

Colonel Howard said of it, "whilst we were halted, the British army were formed in the school house lane, directly in our front, six or seven hundred yards from us; but owing to the denseness of the fog, which had much increased after the action commenced, we could not see them." The impossibility of knowing where the various divisions of the army were at any given moment, and of transmitting orders to them, even if their positions had been known, caused the battle to become a disjointed series of detached encounters, instead of a concentrated effort to support a fixed plan.

From this period Colonel Howard remained with the army, and was present at the battle of Monmouth, although the particular share that he bore in it cannot now be ascertained.

In April, 1780, the Maryland and Delaware troops, amounting to fourteen hundred infantry, were detached from the army to effect a diversion to relieve the city of Charleston, South Carolina, then besieged by the British under Clinton. On the third of May these troops embarked upon Elk river, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, but were not able to reach Petersburg, in Virginia, until June. As Charleston capitulated on the twelfth of May, they could not possibly have reached the upper part of Carolina in time to have produced any relief to that important post, even if the facilities of transportation in the bay had then been as great as they now are; but it may be interesting to compare the tedious progress of those troops with the rapid movements effected under our present improved communications. In the summer of 1832 an Indian war broke out upon the upper waters of the Mississippi, and a portion of the United States army was transported thither from Old Point Comfort, in Virginia. Their route led them over a part of the same course, reversing the direction, which had been followed in 1780; but instead of occupying a month in traversing the waters of the Chesapeake, as had been necessarily the case with the continental army, they had in that space of time reached the far distant regions of the west, in the state of Illinois. Twenty-four hours would now be sufficient to move fourteen hundred troops from the head of Elk river to Petersburg, an operation that in 1780 employed a month. When Washington moved upon Cornwallis, it required four weeks to transport his army from the Hudson to James river, and even then we must admire his celerity; now one week would be more than enough.

On the first of June, 1779, Major HOWARD had received the commission of "lieutenant-colonel of the fifth Maryland regiment, in the army of the United States, to take rank as such from the 11th day of March, 1778;" and he availed himself of the vicinity of the troops to Baltimore to arrange his affairs; as, to use his own language, "our march to the southward seemed to be a forlorn hope, and my return very uncertain." He sold some property, which he converted into half joes, leaving fifty in the hands of a friend, as a provision in case of his being taken prisoner.

Upon the arrival of the Baron de Kalb at Petersburg, he received intelligence of the fall of Charleston; but wisely judging that the presence of a body of regular troops in the south would sustain the fortitude of the militia, he pressed on rapidly to Deep Run, in North Carolina, where he was obliged to halt for want of provisions. On the 25th July General Gates arrived in camp and took command of the army, whilst the baron contented himself with the Maryland division. Flushed with the victory and honor obtained at Saratoga, Gates overlooked all considerations flowing from the ill condition of his stores and barren nature of the country before him, and marched forward in quest of his enemy. Blinded by the luxuriance of the laurels upon his brow, and heedless of the advice of those who knew the country, he pressed on, and supported his troops upon such supplies of lean beef as could be caught in the woods; and which, when boiled with unripe corn, constituted their chief diet. Some of the officers directed the meat to be made into soup, and with a refinement of luxury that would amaze the cooks of the present day, contrived to render it palatable by emptying into it the contents of the bags which held their hair powder. It is but justice to mention, however, that they were not confined exclusively to this meagre diet, but occasionally enlarged their bill of fare by the very agreeable addition of green peaches.

Whilst Gates was making a night march to attack the British army, commanded, as he thought, by Lord Rawdon, it so happened that they were marching to attack him. Cornwallis had arrived from Charleston with a strong reinforcement on the 14th, and resolved to assault Gates in his camp. On the night of the fifteenth the light troops encountered each other in the woods to their mutual astonishment. Then, for the first time, Gates learned that Cornwallis was his antagonist, and that the enemy were equal, if not superior to himself, in numbers. A retreat was impossible, and nothing remained but to form the line of battle. Nothing is more trying to militia than to await an attack. Drawn up in a line, and having nothing external to engage their attention, they turn their thoughts inward. The approaching battle is viewed through the magnifying mist of a heated imagination, and armed with unknown terrors, particularly if it is their first fight. An old soldier thinks of the chances of escape from death, if he thinks at all; a young one, of the danger of being killed. Reflection is of service to the first, but ruinous to the latter. In the darkness of night these circumstances act with double force. If to these considerations we add the reception of the disheartening intelligence that Cornwallis had reinforced the British army, it is easy to account for the bad conduct of the militia in the battle of Camden. They gave way early in the action, and thereby threw the pressure of the whole of the British troops entirely upon the two Maryland brigades, aided by a very few other gallant corps. One of these brigades (in which was Lieutenant-Colonel Howard) was drawn up in a line with the rest of the army; the other was a short distance in the rear, with its right flank behind the left flank of its colleague. In this position they maintained the contest obstinately against superior numbers, and the front brigade at one time made a partially successful attempt to use the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel Howard drove the corps in front of him out of line; and if the left wing of the American army had been able to occupy the attention of the British right, the fate of the day would probably have been propitious. But, attacked in front and flank by a simultaneous charge of horse and foot, the continental troops were overpowered and driven into the swamps, hitherto considered impenetrable. Colonel Howard succeeded in keeping a few of his men together, and being joined occasionally by other officers and men, reached Charlotte, about sixty miles off, on the 19th. The writer of this article once asked him what he found during those three days for his men and himself to eat; his brief reply was, "some peaches."

In October a small supply of coarse clothing arrived in camp, and was appropriated in the first instance to the equipment of four companies of light infantry, which were formed into a battalion and placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel HOWARD, to take a position nearer to the enemy. Early in December Greene arrived, and the command of the southern army was transferred to him with due solemnity. Soon afterwards, a detachment was placed under Morgan to act farther in the west; and in it we find Lieutenant-Colonel HOWARD, having under him four hundred continental infantry, and two companies of Virginia militia under Captains Triplett and Tate. With these troops and Washington's cavalry, together with a considerable body of militia, Morgan fought the celebrated battle of the Cowpens, on the 17th January, 1781. It is not our purpose, either on this or any occasion, to encroach upon the province of the historian, by attempting to give a particular description of any of the southern battles, or to embark in a controversy with any author; but it is absolutely necessary to contradict the account of this affair, as it is recorded in Johnson's life of Greene; and we rest upon the manuscript or printed statements of Colonel HOWARD himself, whose retentive memory and scrupulous accuracy render his authority unquestionable. It was HOWARD, and not Morgan, who gave the order to the right company to change its front and protect his flank; and it was HOWARD who afterwards ordered the charge with the bayonet upon his own responsibility. We shall use his own language. "Seeing my right flank was exposed to the enemy, I attempted to change the front of Wallace's company; (Virginia regulars;) in doing it some confusion ensued, and first a part and then the whole of the company commenced a retreat. The officers along the line seeing this, and supposing that orders had been given for a retreat, faced their men about and moved off. Morgan, who had mostly been with the militia, quickly rode up to me and expressed apprehensions of the event; but I soon removed his fears by pointing to the line, and observing that men were not beaten who retreated in that order. He then ordered me to keep with the men, until we came to the rising ground near Washington's horse; and he rode forward to fix on the most proper place for us to halt and face about. In a minute we had a perfect line. The enemy were now very near us. Our men commenced a very destructive fire, which they little expected, and a few rounds occasioned great disorder in their ranks. While in this confusion I ordered a charge with the bayonet, which order was obeyed with great alacrity. As the line advanced, I observed their artillery a short distance in front, and called to Captain Ewing, who was near me, to take it. Captain Anderson (now General Anderson of Montgomery county, Maryland) hearing the order, also pushed for the same object; and both being emulous for the prize, kept pace until near the first piece, when Anderson, by putting the end of his spontoon forward into the ground, made a long leap, which brought him upon the gun and gave him the honor of the prize. My attention was now drawn to an altercation of some of the men with an artillery-man, who appeared to make it a point of honor not to surrender his match. The men, provoked by his obstinacy, would have bayoneted him on the spot, had I not interfered and desired them to spare the life of so brave a man. He then surrendered his match. In the pursuit I was 'led to the right, in among the seventy-first, who were broken into squads; and as I called to them to surrender, they laid down their arms and the officers delivered up their swords. Captain Duncanson, of the seventy-first grenadiers, gave me his sword and stood by me. Upon getting on my horse, I found him pulling at my saddle, and he nearly unhorsed me. I expressed my displeasure, and asked him what he was about. The explanation was, that they had orders to give no quarter, and they did not expect any; and as my men were coming up, he was afraid they would use him ill. I admitted his excuse, and put him into the care of a sergeant. I had messages from him some years afterwards, expressing his obligation for my having saved his life."

At one time Colonel Howard had in his hand seven swords of officers who had surrendered to him personally, whilst he was "in among the seventy-first."

The moral effect of this victory was felt throughout the whole country. Congress voted medals to Morgan, Washington, and Howard, descriptive of their conduct upon that memorable day.

The action at the Cowpens is believed to have been the first in which the American troops fairly conquered the British, with the bayonet, in the open field; and no higher compliment could be paid to those engaged in it, than the subsequent conduct of Greene in ordering the Maryland line to use the bayonet in every battle.

In the extreme fatigue and danger incurred by the rear guard in protecting the retreat of Greene into Virginia, the subject of this memoir bore his full share. After refreshing and reinforcing his army, that enterprising general resumed offensive operations, and marched into Carolina to fight his enemy. The battle of Guilford ensued, in which Howard again exhibited the discipline of his regiment, and won additional honor for himself. Having the advantage of one of his manuscript notes, we shall use his own language. "The second regiment was at some distance to the left of the first, in the cleared ground, with its left flank thrown back, so as to form a line almost at right angles with the first regiment. The guards, after they had defeated General Stephens, pushed into the cleared ground and run at the second regiment, which immediately gave way; owing, I believe, in a great measure, to the want of officers, and having so many new recruits. The guards pursued them into our rear, where they took two pieces of artillery. This transaction was in a great measure concealed from the first regiment by the wood, and unevenness of the ground. But my station being on the left of the first regiment, and next the cleared ground, Captain Gibson, deputy adjutant-general, rode to me, and informed me that a party of the enemy, inferior in number to us, were pushing through the cleared ground and into our rear, and that if we would face about and charge them, we might take them. We had been for some time engaged with a part of Webster's brigade, though not hard pressed, and at that moment their fire had slackened. I rode to Gunby and gave him the information. He did not hesitate to order the regiment to face about, and we were immediately engaged with the guards. Our men gave them some well directed fires, and we then advanced and continued firing. At this time Gunby's horse was shot, and when I met him some time after, he informed me that his horse fell upon him, and it was with difficulty he extricated himself. Major Anderson was killed about this time. As we advanced I observed Washington's horse, and as their movements were quicker than ours, they first charged and broke the enemy. My men followed very quickly, and we passed through the guards, many of whom had been knocked down by the horse without being much hurt. We took some prisoners, and the whole were in our power. After passing through the guards, as before stated, I found myself in the cleared ground, and saw the seventy-first regiment near the court-house, and other columns of the enemy appearing in different directions. Washington's horse having gone off, I found it necessary to retire, which I did leisurely; but many of the guards who were lying on the ground, and who we supposed were wounded, got up and fired at us as we retired."

Such is the modest narrative of one of the most spirited charges in the whole war.

After the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, which we must pass over, Colonel Gunby returned to his native state, to superintend the recruiting service, and left Colonel Howard in command of the regiment, from which he was transferred to the second at the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Ford, who never recovered from the wound received in that battle. At Eutaw, therefore, he had the command of the second regiment. When the Maryland line "swept the field with their bayonets," it fell to the lot of Colonel Howard to encounter the Buffs, whose resistance was so stubborn, that (according to Lee) many individuals of the Marylanders and of the Buffs were mutually transfixed with each other's bayonets. That the contest was obstinate, is evident from the loss sustained. Colonel Howard says in a letter, "nearly one half my men were killed or wounded, and I had seven officers out of twelve disabled; four killed, and three severely wounded." Towards the conclusion of the battle he himself received a ball in the left shoulder, which, passing entirely through, came out under the shoulder blade, and disabled him. In a letter to General Smallwood, written a few days after the battle, Greene says, "nothing could exceed the gallantry of the Maryland line. Colonels Williams, Howard, and all the officers, exhibited acts of uncommon bravery; and the free use of the bayonet, by this and some other corps, gave us the victory."

Immediately after the battle Greene retreated about seven miles, and so long a time elapsed before Colonel Howard could have his wound dressed, that the surgeon, after bestowing upon him all the attention that a sincere friendship inspired, whispered to the attendant to be vigilant during the night; for if the wound began to bleed again, the patient would probably expire before assistance could reach him, unless it was instantly rendered. It is mentioned as an anecdote to illustrate the self-relying character of Colonel Howard, that when the surgeon visited him in the morning, he was much surprised to learn from his patient, that he had overheard the caution on the preceding night, and determined to remain awake himself, which he had accordingly done. As soon as he was able to be moved, he was carried to his native state, accompanied by the most affectionate commendations of General Greene, who observed in one of his letters, that Colonel Howard was as good an officer as the world afforded, and deserved a statue of gold, no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes.

At the conclusion of the war Colonel HOWARD retired to his patrimonial estate, and soon after married Margaret Chew, daughter of Benjamin Chew, of Philadelphia; a lady whose courteous manners and elegant hospitality will long be remembered by the society of Baltimore, of which, as well as of the best company throughout the country, her house was the gay and easy resort. In November, 1788, he was chosen the governor of Maryland, which post he filled for the constitutional term of three years, during which period the federal government was adopted and put into operation, receiving all the support that the influence of the governor could bestow. In May, 1794, he was appointed a major-general of militia, but declined accepting the commission. In November, 1795, General Washington invited him to accept a seat in his cabinet, and take charge of the war department, but the offer was respectfully declined. "Had your inclination," said Washington in reply, "and private pursuits permitted you to take the office that was offered to you, it would have been a very pleasing circumstance to me, and I am persuaded, as I observed to you on a former occasion, a very acceptable one to the public. But the reasons which you have assigned for not doing so carry conviction along with them, and must, however reluctantly, be submitted to."

At the time of this offer he was a member of the senate in the legislature of Maryland, from which he was transferred, in 1796, to the senate of the United States, being elected first to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Potts, and afterwards for the full term of service, which expired on the 4th of March, 1803. In 1798, when it was probable that Washington would have to take the field again, HOWARD was one of the few officers whom he insisted upon naming, and whom he intended to bring to his aid as one of the brigadier-generals. But the threatening storm passed away, and in 1803 he finally withdrew from public life, devoting himself to his own private concerns, intermingled with the exercise of a liberal but unostentatious hospitality, and a participation in all leading measures for the advancement of the city of Baltimore.

After the lapse of a few years, the sound of the trumpet and drum broke in upon his retirement. The capture of Washington, in 1814, produced an excitement in the adjacent portion of the country, which can better be remembered or imagined than described. Amidst the din of preparation for resistance to the meditated attack upon Baltimore, a suggestion was made that it would be wise to capitulate. As soon as it reached Colonel HOWARD, the spirit of the old soldier burst forth in the following indignant denunciation. "I have" said he, "as much property at stake as most persons, and I have four sons in the field. But sooner would I see my sons weltering in their blood, and my property reduced to ashes, than so far disgrace the country."

The committee of safety, of which he was a prominent member, left no effort untried to prepare for defence, and the result is recorded upon one of the most glorious pages of our history. A troop of aged men was organized to render such services as their infirmities would allow, and Colonel Howard was, by unanimous consent, placed at its head. Although this corps was intended to act only within the city, yet he had resolved to be present at the battle to offer his advice or assistance; but it occurred on the day preceding that on which he expected it to take place.

In 1821 he had the misfortune to lose his eldest daughter, and in 1822, his eldest son, John Eager Howard junior, whose character had secured the warm affection of a numerous circle of friends, and who had already filled, with universal approbation, some of the principal offices in the state. In 1824 he had the farther misfortune to lose his wife, and his own health began to decline. The effect of his early wound had always been felt upon his taking the slightest cold; but now his constitution suffered a gradual decay. In October, 1827, a slight exposure brought on a severe cold, which the most active treatment could not subdue. After a few days' illness, which he bore with inflexible and characteristic fortitude, he expired on the 12th, without a struggle or a groan.

His funeral was attended by the public authorities of the city, and an immense concourse of people. A numerous detachment of the military also escorted the remains of the soldier and patriot to their place of rest. One of the newspapers spoke of it in the following manner. "We do not remember ever to have witnessed a greater concourse than that which composed the funeral procession, and lined the streets along which it passed. A mournful interest appeared to pervade all ranks of the community, who flocked from every quarter to take a farewell glimpse of the remains of one, who had possessed, whilst living, their unbounded respect. The military appeared in fine order, and the hollow beat of their muffled drums told that a soldier had gone to his rest." Mr. Adams happened to be in Baltimore on the day of the funeral, which he attended, after sending to the family the following beautiful and appropriate letter.

"The President of the United States has received with deep concern the communication from the family of the late Colonel How-

ARD, informing him of the decease of their lamented parent. Sympathizing with their affliction upon the departure of their illustrious relative, he only shares in the sentiment of universal regret with which the offspring of the revolutionary age, throughout the union, will learn the close of a life, eminently adorned with the honors of the cause of independence, and not less distinguished in the career of peaceful magistracy in later time. He will take a sincere though melancholy satisfaction in uniting with his fellow citizens in attending the funeral obsequies of him, whose name has been long and will ever remain, enrolled among those of the benefactors of his country.

"*Baltimore*, 15*th October*, 1827."

At the ensuing session of the legislature of Maryland, resolutions were adopted of a highly complimentary character, and directing the portrait of the deceased to be placed in the chamber of the house of delegates. From the scene of his youthful exploits also, the voice of the house of representatives was heard declaring, "that it was with feelings of profound sorrow and regret, that South Carolina received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Colonel JOHN EAGER HOWARD of Maryland, and that the state of South Carolina can never forget the distinguished services of the deceased."

The beauty of the thought tempts us to make the following extract from an obituary notice written by the most celebrated dignitary of the Catholic church. "One after another, the stars of our revolutionary firmament are sinking below the horizon. They rise in another hemisphere as they set to us; and the youth of other times will gaze upon their lustre, as he learns their names and marks them clustering into constellations, which will recall to his mind some interesting event of our period of struggle."

The character of Colonel HOWARD partook of the strength of the school in which it was framed. His first lessons, received in the thoughtful infancy of our country, had imbued his mind with the nervous and unadorned wisdom of the time. His manhood, hardened in the stormy season of the revolution, was taught patience by privation, and virtue by common example. By his worth he had won the painful station of a champion who was not to be spared from the field of action, and his sense of duty was too peremptory to permit him to refuse the constant requisitions of this perilous honor. In the camp, therefore, amidst the accidents of war, his moral constitution acquired the hardihood, and his arm the prowess of ancient chivalry. He reached in safety the close of that anxious struggle, with a mind braced by calamity and familiarized to great achievements. It threw him on the world in the vigor of his days, gifted with the qualities of a provident, brave, temperate, and inflexible patriot. The characteristics thus acquired, never faded in subsequent life. Pursued by an unusual share of honor and regard as a founder of the liberties of his country, he was never beguiled by the homage it attracted. A fortune that might be deemed princely, was never used to increase the lustre of his station or the weight of his authority, but was profusely dispensed in public benefactions and acts of munificence. With the allurements of power continually soliciting his ambition, he never threw himself into the public service but when the emergencies of the state left him no privilege of refusal. Under such conditions only, he administered the grave duties of office, with an integrity, wisdom, and justice, that gave to his opinions an authentic and absolute sway. Amidst the frantic agitations of party, which for a series of years convulsed the nation, he, almost alone in his generation, won the universal confidence. The most inveterate popular prejudices seemed to yield to the affectionate conviction of his impregnable honesty, his unblenching love of country, and that personal independence which neither party zeal could warp from its course, nor passion subvert, nor faction alarm; and in their bitterest exacerbations, his fellow citizens of all ranks turned towards him as to a fountain of undefiled patriotism. In private life he was distinguished for the amenity of his manners, his hospitality, and his extensive and useful knowledge. He possessed a memory uncommonly minute, and a love of information that never sank under the labor of acquisition. These faculties rendered him, perhaps, the most accurate repository of the history of his own time, in this or any other country. His habits of life were contemplative, cautious, scrupulously just, and regulated by the strictest method.

Few men have enjoyed a more enviable lot;—his youth distinguished in the field, his age in the council, and every period solaced by the attachment of friends. Affluent in fortune, as rich in public regard, and blessed in his domestic and personal associations, he has glided away from the small band of his compatriots, as full of honors as of years. The example of such a citizen is a legacy to his country, of more worth than the precepts of an age.

OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS.

The military operations of the revolution naturally present themselves in review in two series, divided geographically by the Chesapeake bay; so distinctly drawn is this line, that in every connected history of the period, from the evacuation of Boston to the capture of Cornwallis, we find the narrative alternately carries the reader's attention from one to the other side of that estuary.

This has placed the officers of the army in groups, which are inseparable in our mental associations, and renders the repetition of much historical memoranda unnecessary in this work, in which the memoirs of many of the most prominent actors in the same scenes are brought together; we shall, therefore, in the present instance, confine ourselves to as brief a space as is possible, with a due regard to the merits of an accomplished gentleman and gallant soldier.

Otho Holland Williams was born in Prince George county, Maryland, in 1748. His ancestors were among the earliest emigrants from Britain, after Lord Baltimore became proprietor of the province. At the age of about twelve years, he was left an orphan, but was protected and educated by his brother-in-law, Mr. Ross. While yet a youth, he was placed in the clerk's office of the county of Frederick, and he afterwards removed to the clerk's office of Baltimore.

He was then about eighteen years of age, nearly six feet high, elegantly formed, his whole appearance and conduct manly beyond his years, and his manners such as made friends of all who knew him. He returned to Frederick, and early in the revolutionary war (1775) was appointed a lieutenant in a rifle company, commanded by Captain Price. The company marched to Boston, and his captain being promoted, he succeeded to the command of it. When Fort Washington was attacked, he had the rank of major, and as commander of the riflemen, was stationed in a wood in advance of the fort. The Hessians attempted to dislodge him, and were twice driven back with great slaughter. Having been reinforced, they made a third attempt, and succeeded in driving the riflemen from their position. In this last attack, Major Williams received a wound in the groin, and was taken prisoner. He was sent to New York, where he was suffered to go at large on his parole. His fine martial appearance, gentlemanly manners, and polite deportment, procured for him civilities that few others were favored with, until a suspicion arose that, being competent, he would carry on a secret correspondence with General Washington, and on that suspicion alone, he was put in close confinement, with ten or eleven other officers, under the provost guard, in a small room not more than sixteen feet square, without the privilege of egress, or of having the room cleaned more than once or twice a week. Their provisions were of the coarsest kind, and barely sufficient to keep soul and body together. In that miserable situation he was kept, until exchanged for Major Ackland,* who had been wounded and taken prisoner at Burgoyne's defeat. The length of time he was confined, and the treatment he received during that period, shattered his fine constitution, and planted the seeds of the complaint which terminated his existence.

During his captivity, Major Williams was promoted to the command of the sixth regiment of the Maryland line; that division marched to the south, and in all the battles that were fought by that celebrated line, Colonel Williams distinguished himself.

He acted as deputy adjutant-general of the southern army, under General Gates, and has left a detailed and lucid narrative of the disastrous campaign of 1780, from which we shall occasionally borrow.

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* These gallant young men became warm friends before they parted; and General Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, has preserved an anecdote of the period, which we transplant to our pages, for the double purpose of illustrating our subject, and of rendering a tribute to the memory of a generous enemy, who afterwards lost his life in vindicating the military character of Americans. "On an occasion, after dining with Lady Harriet, he (Ackland) proposed to Major Williams to visit an assembly; they entered, and the attention of the belles and beaux could not but be attracted by two such elegant figures as Ackland and Williams; but the rancour of civil animosity prevailed over the obligations of good breeding, and Williams was shunned like a pestilence. Ackland made his introduction general, but without effect, and after sauntering across the room several times, 'Come, Williams,' said he, 'this society is too illiberal for you and me; let us go home, and sup with Lady Harriet.'

"Ackland, after his return to England, at a dinner of military men, where the courage of the Americans was made a question, took the negative side with his usual decision; he was opposed, warmth ensued, and he gave the lie direct to a Lieutenant Lloyd, fought him, and was shot through the head. Lady Harriet lost her senses, and continued deranged two years."

After the battle of Camden, all the fragments of the army that could be gathered together were marched off from Charlotte to Salisbury, "constituting," in the language of the narrative referred to, "a wretched remnant of the late southern army; amongst the rest were six soldiers who left the hospital with other convalescents; they had all suffered in Buford's unfortunate affair, and had but two sound arms amongst them; indeed four of them had not one arm among them, and two only an arm apiece." Such are the shocking spectacles that war exhibits.

After a little breathing time had been allowed at Hillsborough, a board of officers, convened by order of General Gates, determined that all the effective men should be formed into two battalions, constituting one regiment; to be completely officered and provided for in the best possible manner that circumstances would admit, and the command of it given to Colonel Williams and Lieutenant-Colonel Howard. This nucleus of the southern army was encamped at some distance from the town—if the word "encamped" can be properly applied to men who were sheltered in "wigwams, made of fence rails, poles, and corn tops." But, notwithstanding this unostentatious mode of dwelling, by the judicious conduct of the officers, a spirit was diffused amongst the troops which was felt by the enemy in the next encounter. Parade duties were regularly attended, as well by officers as soldiers, and discipline not only began to be perfectly restored, but even gave an air of stability and confidence to the regiment which all their rags could not disguise. In this encampment, no circumstance of want or distress was admitted as an excuse for relaxing from the strictest discipline, to which the soldiers more cheerfully submitted, as they saw their officers constantly occupied in procuring for them whatever was attainable in their situation. Absolutely without pay; almost destitute of clothing; often with only a half ration, and never with a whole one, (without substituting one article for another,) not a soldier was heard to murmur, after the third or fourth day of their being encamped. Instead of meeting and conferring in small sullen squads, as they had formerly done, they filled up the intervals from duty with manly exercises and field sports; in short, the officers had very soon the entire confidence of the men, who divested themselves of all unnecessary care, and devoted themselves to duty and pastime within the limits assigned them.

On General Greene's assuming the command of the southern army, he soon discovered the superior abilities of Colonel Williams, and appointed him adjutant-general of his army. In this high trust, he enjoyed the confidence of his general and the army, and fully merited it by his gallantry and his strict attention to his duties. In every action—and they were numerous—he displayed tact, judgment, and presence of mind. He gained great honor for his conduct in covering, with the rear guard, which he commanded, the memorable retreat of the army through North Carolina.

He baffled every attempt of the enemy to bring on a general engagement, and by checking his advance, gained sufficient time to enable the main body of the army to secure its retreat. The preservation of that army has been justly attributed to him for his firmness, coolness, and able manœuvres.

In the battle at the Eutaw Springs, he led that celebrated charge, which gained him the highest honors of the day. At a critical moment General Greene issued the order, "Let Williams advance and sweep the field with his bayonets." Promptly was the order obeyed—the field was swept, but the victory was dearly bought. Near the close of the war, he was sent by General Greene with despatches to congress, and was by that body promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, as a reward for his gallant services. About that period the state collector of the customs for Baltimore, died, and Williams received the appointment from the governor of Maryland. The office was lucrative, and he enjoyed it until the adoption of the constitution of the United States, when Washington appointed him to the same office, which he held until his death.

General Williams married Mary, the second daughter of William Smith, a wealthy merchant of Baltimore, who had been a member of congress. They had four sons, William, Edward, Henry, and Otho, all of whom inherited handsome fortunes, and many of the fine qualities of their father. William and Edward married, the former Miss Susan Cook, and the latter Miss Gilmore, of Baltimore. The four brothers have all, however, been called to early graves, and the only lineal representatives of the gallant, amiable, and accomplished Williams, are the two sons, and two daughters of his son William, and a daughter of his son Edward.

The health of General Williams had been very delicate for many years; the result of the cruelty inflicted on him while a prisoner, and of the severe service he was engaged in, during his campaign in the south. He died on the 16th of July, 1794, on his way to a watering place, regretted by his country and his friends.

JOHN BROOKS

Governor Brooks was one of the most favorable specimens of a truly useful character. He united the gentleman, the soldier, the civil magistrate, and the citizen, in a most perfect harmony of all the qualities which give respectability to public and private life.

He was born in the village of Medford, near Boston, in the year 1752. His family had been established in this place from the earliest settlement of the country, employed, from one generation to another, in the cultivation of the soil. The father of Governor Brooks was a respectable farmer; and he himself passed the early part of his life in the usual occupations of village husbandry. The circumstances of the family prevented his acquiring an academical education; but he attained, in the town school of Medford, sufficient knowledge of the learned languages to enable him to engage to advantage in the study of medicine,—the profession of his choice.

While at school in Medford, the celebrated Count Rumford, a native of the neighboring town of Woburn, was his associate and friend; and the intimacy then formed was kept up by correspondence, till the death of that distinguished philosopher and friend of man.

Having completed his medical studies, he established himself in the practice of his profession in the adjacent town of Reading, and there he was found at the commencement of the revolutionary war. No part of the community engaged with greater ardor in the cause of the country than the members of the medical profession; a circumstance, no doubt, to be ascribed in part to the brilliant example and commanding influence of Dr. Joseph Warren, the martyr of Bunker Hill. A company of minute-men was raised in the town of Reading, and young Brooks, a stranger, just established in the town, and but twenty-three years of age, was chosen its commander. He was indefatigable in drilling and disciplining the men, and prepared himself for this duty by carefully observing the military trainings of the British soldiery, in Boston.

The alarm of the approach of the British, on the nineteenth of April, was given in advance along the tract of country through which they were to pass. Colonel Paul Revere passed through Medford for this purpose, on his way to Concord and Lexington, on the night of the eighteenth, knocking at every door, and rousing the inhabitants. In Reading the alarm was received from Medford; and Captain Brooks' company was immediately put in motion. After proceeding some distance on the morning of the nineteenth, he was ordered, by a superior officer, to halt; but after a short delay, Brooks took the responsibility of continuing his march towards Concord. Within a short distance of that place he came up with the retreating army of the British, by a cross road which traversed the highway from Concord to Boston, at a point where a bridge and causeway were thrown over a marsh. Captain Brooks perceived, that on arriving at the causeway the enemy would have to call in their flank guards. He accordingly took a position partly covered by a barn and stone wall, near the road, and greatly annoyed the flying column of the British. After they had passed, he joined the other American forces in the pursuit to Charlestown.

In the organization of the army, which immediately took place, Brooks was appointed a major in Colonel Bridge's regiment. A battalion from this regiment formed a part of the detachment under the command of Colonel Prescott, by which the heights of Charlestown were fortified on the night of the 16th of June, 1775. Although Major Brooks' own battalion was not ordered upon this service, he himself obtained General Ward's assent to attach himself to Colonel Prescott's party. He was very active, during the night, in assisting in the work of intrenchment, and, in company with Colonel Prescott, reconnoitred the enemy. They heard, on their midnight rounds, by the water's side in Charlestown, the voice of the sentinels on board the British man-of-war, the Somerset, proclaiming "all's well." As soon as it was made manifest in the morning, from the enemy's movements, that they were preparing to cross over and attack the redoubt, Major Brooks was despatched by Colonel Prescott to Cambridge, to the general-in-chief, to make known the condition of affairs, and the want of a reinforcement. He wished to take one of the artillery horses, for greater expedition. This was opposed by Colonel Gridley, who was unwilling to risk the safety of the piece; and Major Brooks was obliged to perform his errand on foot, which he did with promptitude and success.

During the residue of the year 1775, Major Brooks paid great attention to the discipline of his regiment, which was considered as a model in the army. When the new organization of the troops, at the beginning of the year 1776, took place, he was attached to Colonel Webb's regiment, of the Connecticut line. With this regiment he was detached to assist in throwing up the works on Dorchester heights, by which the enemy were compelled to evacuate Boston. After the British retired from Boston, Major Brooks marched, with the greater part of Washington's army, to Long Island; and was actively concerned in the service on that station, and in performing his duty in the skilful retreat which the army was compelled to make.

After the retreat of the army from Long Island, Washington took a position at the White Plains. His advanced guard occupied a hill, about a mile in front of the main army. Colonel Webb's regiment formed a part of this advanced corps. The whole of the British army moved against this position. Unable, of course, to maintain the conflict successfully against a force so overwhelming, the Americans, nevertheless, made a brave and resolute stand. Major Brooks' gallantry and conduct were conspicuous; and the regiment received the particular thanks of Washington, in his general orders, not only for its firmness in battle, but for the perfect discipline and good order evinced in the retreat. It is believed to be no injustice to the other officers of the regiment, to attribute to Major Brooks a large share of the credit which it acquired for its exact discipline and soldier-like conduct on this occasion.

This regiment was included in the division of the army which marched through New Jersey, under the command of General Lee, to reinforce Washington, on the right bank of the Delaware. Major Brooks bore his part in the hardships and dangers of this winter campaign, and remained with the regiment till the term had expired for which the men had enlisted.

In the campaign of 1777 Major Brooks was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and attached to the eighth regiment of Massachusetts troops, recruited principally by himself. Colonel M. Jackson of this regiment having been severely wounded in 1776, the command in the field devolved principally upon Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks during the campaigns of 1777 and 1778, and till he was promoted to the command of the seventh regiment, with the rank of colonel, on the death of Colonel Alden, in 1779.

In the spring of 1777, after the regiment was recruited, Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks was ordered to march to Albany and join the northern army. On his arrival there, Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk was besieged by a portion of Burgoyne's army, then in the full career of success. A division of the American army under General Arnold was ordered to the relief of the fort, and BROOKS' command formed a part of the detachment. The route lay through a wilderness, for almost the whole distance of a hundred miles. The march was performed with great rapidity; the object was accomplished, the siege raised, and the savage auxiliaries of the British army dispersed.

This service having been performed, the detachment returned to the main army on the Hudson. Immediately afterwards, General Gates advanced and stationed himself on Bemis' heights. General Burgoyne crossed the Hudson, and took up a position within two miles of that of the American army, where he established and fortified his camp. On the ground between the two armies, on the 19th of September and 7th of October, two of the severest battles of the revolutionary war were fought. On the 19th, Lieutenant-Colonel BROOKS occupied the extreme left of the American line, and was engaged with the German troops. His regiment was the last to quit the field, where it remained till near eleven o'clock at night. In the still more important and severely contested action of the 7th of October, the regiment commanded by BROOKS was particularly conspicuous. He turned the right of the enemy's encampment, and stormed the redoubt occupied by the Germans. Their commander, Colonel Breyman, was killed, and the works were gallantly carried. Orders were given by Burgoyne to endeavor to retake them, but the attempt was not made; and Colonel BROOKS and his regiment remained masters of the ground. In this important action, the influence of which on subsequent events was so decisive, it is believed that Colonel BROOKS bore a part as distinguished as that of any officer of his rank engaged. He occupies a prominent position in Colonel Trumbull's picture of the surrender of Burgoyne.

Immediately after this glorious event Lieutenant-Colonel BROOKS was ordered with his regiment to Pennsylvania, to join the army under Washington. Soon after his arrival, the army took up its winter quarters at Valley Forge. Here Baron Steuben joined the army as inspector general, and introduced his new system of military manœuvres. Colonel BROOKS was designated by Washington to assist the baron in bringing it into general use.

When the British army retreated from Philadelphia, in the spring of 1778, Washington left his encampment at Valley Forge and marched on its rear. At Monmouth the two armies came in conflict; and Colonel Brooks, as adjutant-general to General Lee, performed a very conspicuous part in the events of that important day.

After the troops had again taken post on the banks of the Hudson, Colonel Brooks was employed under Baron Steuben as inspector of discipline, and rendered the most valuable services by introducing uniformity and order, under the new system, into the ranks of the army. In these various duties he acquired the confidence of Washington, and established an enviable reputation, alike for military science and the personal qualities of the brave officer. But the services which he rendered as a patriot citizen, at the time the army was disbanded, were in no degree inferior to those which he had performed in the bloodiest fields of the war.

On the appearance of the Newburgh letters, Washington summoned the officers of the army together, and affectionately exhorted them to withhold their countenance from the suggestions contained in those publications. After this address of the general, the officers raised a committee to express their views of the subject, in the form of resolutions. Of this committee Colonel Brooks was an active member. The tone and purport of the resolutions reported by the committee, are well known to all who are acquainted with the history of the American war. It would not be easy to overstate their importance, in preventing the army from being excited at this crisis to rash and unpatriotic measures. We should do injustice to this part of the subject did we not relate an anecdote, preserved by the late Chief Justice Parker of Massachusetts, in an interesting biographical sketch of Governor Brooks; nor can we do it so well, as in the words of the chief justice:—"On this occasion the commander-in-chief, to whom this was the most anxious moment in his life, rode up to Brooks, with intent to ascertain how the officers stood affected. Finding him, as he expected, to be sound, he requested him to keep his officers in their quarters, to prevent them from attending the insurgent meeting. Brooks replied, 'Sir, I have anticipated your wishes, and my orders are given.' Washington, with tears in his eyes, took him by the hand and said, 'Colonel Brooks, this is just what I expected from you.'"

Colonel Brooks, like most of his brethren in arms, retired in poverty from the service of his country. He immediately resumed the practice of his laborious profession, in Medford and the neighboring towns. The kindness of his heart and the gentleness of his manners procured him the love and confidence of all around him;

and increased, if possible, the extraordinary reliance which was placed in his professional skill.

The community, however, was not willing to release its claim on his public services. He was, immediately after the close of the war, appointed major-general of the third division of the Massachusetts militia. He was frequently chosen a representative to the general court of the commonwealth. He was a delegate to the convention of 1788, by which the constitution of the United States was adopted. To this happy frame of government he gave his hearty and intelligent support. He took part, on several occasions, in the debates of the convention. His remarks are characterized by good sense and discrimination; and in pointing out the difference between "a consolidation of the states" and "consolidation of the union," he evinced a forethought and sagacity indicative of the sound practical statesman. He was for several years a senator for the county of Middlesex, and a member of the executive council. On the visit of Washington to that part of the country, in 1789, General Brooks had the satisfaction of passing his division of the Massachusetts militia in review before the beloved and revered commander-in-chief. Their state of discipline attracted Washington's especial notice; and he said to General Brooks, "if we had had such men as these when I was here before, we should have made short work of it." When the army of 1798 was organized, Washington designated General Brooks for the command of a brigade; but not thinking the dangers of the country to be such as required from him a second sacrifice of the comforts of domestic life, he declined the appointment.

During the administration of Governor Strong, he was appointed adjutant-general of the commonwealth of Massachusetts; and on his retirement from the chief magistracy, was called to the chair of state. This event took place shortly after the close of the war of 1812. Governor Brooks was happily calculated to coöperate in the work which then took place, of allaying party dissension. Before the close of his administration, which was renewed for six successive terms, from 1816 to 1822, the state was brought to a good degree of internal harmony; and mainly under the healing influence of his character.

He labored assiduously to discharge the duties of his office. His addresses to the legislature evince large and liberal views of the policy of the state, united with a spirit of moderation and impartiality. It was impossible to bring less of the partisan to the perform ance of official duty. But we cannot so effectually do justice to this part of his character, as by again borrowing the words of Chief Justice Parker:—"He maintained the dignity of the office, and thereby honored the people who bestowed it; receiving all distinguished strangers with becoming attention and courtesy. Though the style of his living was conformable to his limited means, yet the order and regularity of his household, the real comfort of his entertainments, the polite deportment of the host, struck strangers, even those accustomed to magnificence, as a happy specimen of republican simplicity, and of generous but economical hospitality. Bred in the best school of manners—a military association of high-minded, accomplished officers—his deportment, though grave and dignified like Washington's, was nevertheless warm and affectionate. On all ceremonious occasions, ceremony seemed to become him better than any one else. In the chair of state, when receiving the gratulations of a happy people on the birth-day of their independence;—on the spacious common, paying honors to the president of the United States;—on the military field, reviewing our national guard, the militia;—at his own humble but honored mansion, taking to his breast his early friend, 'the nation's guest,' what young man of taste and feeling could be unmoved at his soldierly air, his graceful demeanor, covering, but not impairing the generous feelings of a warm and affectionate heart! If the writer does not mistake, he was one of the last and best samples of that old school of manners, which, though it has given way to the ease and convenience of modern times, will be regretted by some, as having carried away with it many of the finest and most delicate traits of social intercourse."

After his voluntary retirement from the chair of state, Governor Brooks still continued to serve the community in various important capacities, and to manifest his sympathy in the public spirited objects which were presented for his approbation. He continued to his death president of the Massachusetts medical society; of the Cincinnati; of the Washington monument society; and of the Bunker Hill monument association. He received from the university at Cambridge, at different periods, the honorary degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws, conferring on that ancient and venerable society, in thus becoming her adopted son, an honor not inferior to that which he himself derived from these academic distinctions.

Returned to the shades of private life, he devoted himself to the cultivation of his farm;—to a wide course of scientific, political, and various reading; and to a free and unceremonious intercourse with the circle of friends and neighbors of which he was the ornament and boast. He reaped and enjoyed the harvest of a life of virtue, honor, and usefulness. He had retired from the public service with his faculties unimpaired, and his name untarnished by the breath of reproach. Respected, honored, and beloved, his life at every stage was passed with, perhaps, an unusual share of good fortune, yet not without trial.

He became in early life a widower, and remained so till his death. An only and beloved daughter died in a foreign land. A gallant son,—beautiful and accomplished,—the heir of the manly graces and heroic patriotism of his father, was slain in the ever memorable battle of lake Erie.

Governor Brooks was a Christian in the best sense of the word;—in heart, in principle, in action, penetrated with the influence of the gospel. He paid, throughout life, undeviating respect to the sacred offices of religion, and died consoled with its hopes, in the possession of his reason to the last.

On the 11th of February, 1825, he went abroad, perhaps for the last time, to attend the funeral of his revolutionary associate and successor in the chief magistracy of Massachusetts, the late Governor Eustis; and died himself on the second of the next month, at the age of seventy-three; leaving an only surviving child, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Scammel Brooks, of the army of the United States.

FRANCIS BARBER.

Colonel Francis Barber was the son of Patrick Barber, Esq., who was born in the county of Longford, in Ireland, at a place called the Scotch Quarters. His maternal ancestors were Scots, of the name of Frazer, and he married Jane, the daughter of Francis Frazer, some years before his migration to America, in 1749 or 1750. After a short residence in New York, he removed to the then small village of Princeton, in New Jersey, where the subject of this memoir was born, in the year 1751. After Francis had entered the college, or the classical school attached to it, his father removed into the county of Orange, in the state of New York. He received appointments to civil offices under the colonial and state governments of New York, and his ashes now repose in the family cemetry in Orange county, beside the untimely grave of his gallant and lamented son. After Francis Barber had finished his education at Princeton he took charge of the academy at Elizabethtown, New Jersey; and the classical department under his charge was soon distinguished. He was charged with the instruction of several young men, who in after life rose to the highest eminence. Among others, Alexander Hamilton was placed at this school by Governor Livingston, himself a ripe scholar, whose preference for the school is the best evidence of his confidence in the teacher. Upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war, Francis Barber, with his two younger brothers, John and William, devoted themselves at once to the service of their country. John commanded a company in the New York line, and Francis and William were officers in the New Jersey line. Francis received a commission from congress, bearing date the 9th of February, 1776, as major of the third battalion of the New Jersey troops.

On the 8th of November of the same year he was appointed by the legislature of New Jersey Lieutenant Colonel of the third Jersey regiment, and was commissioned by congress on the first of January, 1777. Not long after, the office of inspector-general of the army was conferred upon Baron Steuben, and Colonel Francis

Barber received that of assistant inspector general. In a letter addressed to him by the baron at the time, he says,—"I make no doubt but with a gentleman of your zeal and capacity the troops under your inspection, will make great progress in the military discipline, and the good order prescribed in the regulations."

Colonel Barber was in constant service during the whole war. Although a strict, nay rigid disciplinarian, always scrupulously performing his own duty, and requiring it from all under his command, yet so bland were his manners and his whole conduct so tempered with justice and strict propriety, that he was the favorite of all the officers and men, and possessed the friendship and confidence, not only of the general officers, but of the commander-in-chief. He served with his regiment in the northern army, under General Schuyler. He marched with the army from Ticonderoga to join General Washington, previous to the battle of Trenton. Colonel Barber was in that battle, and also in that of Princeton which so soon followed it. He was engaged in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and in the latter was severely wounded. Even when unable to remain in the field, his active spirit was employed in devising means of usefulness, as is shown by the following letter from the commander-in-chief, dated July 9th, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I was this afternoon favored with your letter of the 8th instant. While you are at Elizabethtown, I wish you to obtain the best intelligence you can, from time to time, of the enemy's situation, and of any movement they may seem to have in view. For this purpose you will employ the persons you mention, or such others as you may judge necessary. Whatever expense you are at upon this occasion, will be repaid on the earliest notice. I am extremely happy to hear your wound is in so favorable a way. I hope it will be better every day. Though I wish for your services, I would not have you to rejoin the army before your condition will admit of it with the most perfect safety.

I am dear sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Geo. Washington.

On the 14th of the same month, the commander-in-chief acknowledges the receipt of another letter of Colonel Barber's of the 13th, expresses his obligations for the intelligence it contains, begs him to continue his endeavors to procure every information he can, concerning the enemy, and closes with his best wishes for his speedy recovery, and with much regard, &c.

In 1779, Colonel Barber served as adjutant-general with General Sullivan in his memorable expedition against the Indians, and was slightly wounded at the battle of Newtown. At the close of the campaign, he received from the general a highly complimentary testimonial of his conduct in that department of the army. During the expedition, Colonel **Barber** kept his wife constantly informed, not only of his personal safety, but of the movements, progress, and success of the army, and the letters preserved of that correspondence, furnish, probably, as particular and detailed an account of the expedition, as is any where to be found.

On the 8th of January, 1780, Washington entrusted to him the important and highly delicate duty of enforcing in the county of Gloucester, in West Jersey, the necessary requisition made throughout the state for grain and cattle, to relieve the distresses of the army.

The Jersey brigade was again conspicuous at the battle of Springfield, where Colonel **Barber** was actively engaged. In this battle, fell that high minded and gallant youth, Lieutenant Moses Ogden, the brother-in-law of Colonel **Barber**. When the mutiny, first of the Pennsylvania, and afterwards of the Jersey line, threatened the dissolution of the army, Colonel **Barber** received from the commander-in-chief, the following, in the hand writing of General Hamilton.

New Windsor, January 21st, 1781.

Dear Sir,

With no less pain than you communicated it, I receive the information contained in your letter of yesterday. This affair, if possible, must be brought to an issue favorable to subordination, or the army is ruined. I shall therefore immediately march a detachment to quell the mutineers. Colonel Frelinghuysen will impart to you what I have written to him. In addition to that, I am to desire you will endeavor to collect all those of your regiments who have had virtue enough to resist the pernicious example of their associates. If the revolt has not become general, and if you have force enough to do it, I wish you to compel the mutineers to unconditional submission. The more decidedly you are able to act, the better.

Your most obedient servant,

Geo. Washington.

The mutineers had threatened to shoot any officer who should attempt to restrain or in any way molest them. Notwithstanding this threat, it was supposed by many of the officers that the Jersey troops entertained so high a regard for Colonel **Barber**, and his influence over them was such, that he might safely appeal to their patriotism and honor as soldiers, and in this way lead them to submission.

The popularity of the officer had an influence in restraining many, and the decisive measures of Washington, together with the partial relief afforded by a timely supply of money, soon restored the Jersey line to order.

In August, 1781, Colonel Barber accompanied the Jersey line on their march to Virginia, and was at the investment and capture of the British army at Yorktown. During the march of the army, Colonel Barber, as before, kept his wife informed by letter, of the daily movements of the American and British armies, so far as the latter could be ascertained. One of those letters, so correctly foretold the glorious termination of the contest, as to seem written almost in a spirit of prophecy; it proves, at least, the accuracy of his judgment. Speaking of the enemy, he says, "sometimes their movements indicate the design of embarking from some southern port, probably to return to New York; others of proceeding to Yorktown. If they pursue the first alternative, the struggle may yet be protracted for some time. If the latter, I think it will be brought to a speedy and glorious termination." The latter was adopted, and the auspicious result soon followed; peace was concluded, and the independence of the country was confirmed. The day on which the commander-in-chief intended to communicate these joyful tidings to his army, was the day on which this high minded soldier was summoned from this, to witness the more glorious realities of another world. On that day many of the officers, and such of their wives as were in camp, were invited to dine with the commander-in-chief at New Windsor, and among the rest, Colonel Barber and his wife. He was acting at the time as officer of the day in place of a friend. While on duty, and passing by the edge of a wood where some soldiers were cutting down a tree, it fell on him, and both rider and horse were instantly crushed to death. He had received an intimation that the commander-in-chief intended to communicate to the officers at his table, the intelligence of peace before it appeared in general orders.

His afflicted and disconsolate widow received letters of condolence from many of the officers upon this mournful event. It was, in truth, a cloud that not only shrouded her mansion in mourning, but appeared to eclipse for ever, the brightness of her future prospects. To the honor of his native state, its legislature allowed to her, durin life, the half pay of a Colonel. The death, the untimely death of this gallant officer was not only lamented by all his companions in arms, but long after sorrow was soothed by the lapse of time, many a war-worn soldier has *halted* at the mansion of his widow, to recount his virtues and consecrate his memory with a tear.

W. C.

JOHN BARRY.

The war of independence was conducted with a very small naval armament, which sprang into existence during its progress, and was indebted for its successes to the genius and prowess which the emergencies of the times developed. John Barry, whose valor and services were eminently conspicuous in that perilous conflict, was born in Ireland, in the county of Wexford, in the year 1745. A passion for a maritime occupation, which he displayed at an early age, induced his father, who was an agriculturist, to place him on board of a merchantman. The intervals of his voyages were assiduously engaged in the improvement of his mind. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he emigrated to America, and having entered into the employment of the most respectable merchants of this country, continued to pursue his favorite profession with earnestness and signal success. The commencement of the war of indedendence found him a prosperous man, actively employed, and rapidly acquiring wealth. To that contest he could not long remain indifferent. His ardent love of liberty, combined with those admirable qualities which were the foundation of his growing reputation, impelled him to sacrifice the brightest prospects, to embark in the noble, but impoverishing struggle for freedom. He accordingly abandoned, to use his own language, "the finest ship, and the first employ in America," and entered into the service of his adopted country.

In 1776 he was employed by congress to fit for sea, the first fleet that sailed from Philadelphia, and by the authority of the council of safety of that city, he superintended the building of a state ship. In the month of March, of the same year, he was requested to take the command of the brig Lexington, of sixteen guns, and clear the coast of the enemy's small cruisers with which it was infested. He accepted the appointment, although it was destitute of emolument, and notwithstanding a British forty-two gun ship, and two frigates were actively cruising in the capes of the Delaware, he successfully performed the duty assigned to him. He captured some of the enemy's small cruisers, and compelled the rest to keep in port. Prior to the declaration of independence, he was transferred to the command of the frigate Effingham, and in the succeeding winter he displayed fresh proofs of his enterprising and patriotic spirit. The frigate being useless, in consequence of the suspension of the navigation, he sought other means of aiding the cause which he had espoused. With a mind fruitful of resources as it was daring and skilful in the use of them, he exhibited on land the prowess and sagacity by which he had acquired distinction upon the ocean. Having obtained the command of a company of volunteers, and some heavy cannon, he assisted in the operations at Trenton, and continued with the army during the winter campaign, performing important services, and winning admiration and respect. When the British obtained possession of Philadelphia, he took the frigate up the river Delaware, with the hope of saving her from the enemy. When within a few miles of the city, and in a situation in which, without risk to himself, he might have traitorously advanced the cause of Great Britain, an offer was made to him of fifteen thousand guineas, and the command of the frigate in the king's service, if he would bring in the ship. The bribe was indignantly rejected, and the answer returned by Captain Barry, "that he scorned any offer they could make him." The frigates Washington and Effingham were subsequently burnt by a detachment of soldiers sent by Lord Howe for that purpose.

Whilst Captain Barry was deprived, by the occupation of Philadelphia by the enemy, of an extensive sphere of usefulness, his daring spirit, impatient of restraint and incapable of inactivity, was continually exerting its power in hazardous enterprises. Supplies of provision for the army were, at times of urgent necessity, procured through his instrumentality. On one memorable occasion, he manned two boats belonging to the frigates, and proceeded down the river with such secrecy and despatch, that the first knowledge of his expedition was conveyed to the enemy by the destruction of their vessels. Consternation and dismay agitated the hostile ranks, and facilitated the work of ruin which marked his rapid progress. Two large ships, and a schooner carrying eight guns and thirty-two men, were taken and destroyed. The courage which inspired the small, but heroic band, is not alone sufficient to account for his wonderful success, but it must be ascribed to a combination of daring bravery and consummate skill, by which the diminutive power under his control was directed with unerring rapidity and irresistible force.

The trophies of his valor, productive of no personal benefit to himself, nor calculated for mere display, consisted of articles eminently serviceable to the American army, which was then in great want of them.

In September, 1778, he was appointed to the command of the frigate Raleigh, of thirty-two guns, which then lay at Boston, and on the 25th, went to sea. He was not long upon the ocean before his courage and abilities were subjected to a new trial by the appearance of a British fleet, from which he in vain endeavored to escape. With the view of getting into a harbor he sailed for land, which he succeeded in approaching, the enemy being in full chase; but to his infinite grief not a man on board was acquainted with the coast, or knew of a harbor in the vicinity, so that before he could reach a place of security, the smallest of the hostile ships was within gunshot. Believing that he was a match for her, he ordered the American colors to be hoisted and a gun fired. The St. George's ensign was immediately exhibited by the enemy, and the ships exchanged broadsides as they crossed each other. A warm action ensued which lasted for about seven hours. Being obliged to carry all the sail that he could to keep clear of the large ship, by an unforeseen accident, the fore-top-mast, the main-top-gallant-mast, jib and fore-stay-sail of the Raleigh went over the side and rendered four of the guns useless. It was with difficulty, in a warm engagement, that the ship could be freed from the encumbrance of the wreck. Finding it impossible to escape with his ship, his next expedient was to board the vessel with which he was engaged, before the large one could come up, but the enemy perceiving the project, and having the command of his ship, shot ahead and went to the windward, where he remained during the rest of the engagement. The enemy at length retired, apparently much injured, and made signals, supposed to be of distress. Captain Barry now determined to run the Raleigh ashore, but before this could be accomplished, the battle was renewed by both of the enemy's vessels, which lasted for half an hour before the Raleigh struck the ground, and a quarter of an hour afterwards, when the British ships retired and came to, half a mile astern of the Raleigh. Captain Barry now discovered that he was on a desolate island, or rather a barren rock, about twelve leagues from the main land, with the wind right ahead to interpose another obstacle to their reaching the shore. He, however, succeeded in saving eighty-five of his men, and but for an act of treachery would have destroyed the ship; a midshipman having been left to set fire to the combustibles, whilst the master with a boat's crew waited to carry him ashore. He faithlessly extinguished the lights, and the master having waited until daylight, found it necessary to retire, the enemy being within sight. The conduct of Captain BARRY was submitted to the examination of a court martial, and the loss of a ship so valiantly defended, did not impair the confidence of his country.

His services were afterwards actively employed in several voyages to the West Indies; and in 1781, he took the command of the frigate Alliance of thirty-six guns. In February of that year, he sailed from Boston for L'Orient, to which place he carried Colonel Laurens, who was on an embassy to the French court, and subsequently cruised with great success until the 29th of May, when it was his fortune to come in contact with two British vessels, the Atalanta, Captain Edwards, and her consort, the brig Trepasa, Captain Smith. He ordered them to haul down their colors, which not being done, the battle commenced. A dead calm left the Alliance floating on the water like a log, whilst the enemy, by means of sweeps were enabled to command their movements. They accordingly selected a position in which the guns of the Alliance could do them the least injury. In the midst of the engagement, Captain BARRY received a wound on the left shoulder, and after remaining upon deck for some time, the loss of blood rendered it necessary for him to be carried below. The colors of the Alliance having been shot away in the interval of loading the guns, the enemy supposed that she had struck. One of the lieutenants went to Captain BARRY and represented the great injury which the ship had sustained, and the difficulties with which they were contending, and asked whether they should surrender. "No!" said the hero, "if the ship can't be fought without, I will be carried on deck." The reply communicated to the crew, animated them to renewed exertions. A favorable wind enabled the Alliance to pour a broadside into the enemy, and before the dressing of the gallant captain's wounds would permit him to reach the deck, both of the hostile vessels, after a battle which had lasted nearly the whole of the day, had struck their flags. The loss on board of the Alliance was eleven killed, and twenty-one wounded. The ship was much injured in her rigging and hull. The enemy had an equal number killed, and thirty wounded.

In the succeeding fall, Captain BARRY was ordered to refit the Alliance for the purpose of carrying the Marquis de Lafayette and Count Noailles to France on public business. After accomplishing that object, she sailed for Havana and cruised with her usual success until March, 1782, when another conflict with the enemy acquired fresh laurels for her entrepid commander. The Alliance during that month left the Havana for the purpose of convoying the American sloop of war Luzerne, Captain Greene, having on board a large amount of specie, the safety of which was of the utmost importance to the country. The appearance of a British squadron proved a severe trial of the naval skill and dauntless courage of Captain Barry. The largest of the enemy's vessels sailed with equal rapidity with the Luzerne, whilst the English sloop surpassed her, and was making rapid advances to an apparently easy conquest. The Luzerne was lightened by throwing her guns overboard, to furnish her with a better opportunity of escaping. The specie was removed to the Alliance, and the condition of the Luzerne seemed so hopeless that her abandonment by the Alliance was resolved upon, as affording the only prospect of saving the valuable treasures from the grasp of the enemy. But the spirit which animated the naval hero, and which had borne him triumphantly through many dangers, impelled him to rush to the rescue. Those great abilities which had been so often signally displayed in the most hazardous emergencies, were at that critical period exhibited in more than their usual lustre. Captain Barry took his station on the weather quarter of the Luzerne, and as the British sloop endeavored to close with her, he bore down and engaged her before the other ships had time to come to her relief. The coolness of Captain Barry was eminently conspicuous; by his example and exhortation, he inspired his men with that heroic courage which filled his own breast. The guns of the enemy had been kept actively employed from the commencement; the fire of the Alliance was rendered more effective by being reserved until she was within a very short distance of the British sloop. The action lasted for about three quarters of an hour, when the enemy retired and made signals of distress to her consorts. A sail, which had appeared in sight prior to the engagement, was now discovered to be a French frigate. The united forces gave chase to the British, which was continued until they lost sight of them in the darkness of the night, when the Alliance, being at a considerable distance ahead of her companions, it was deemed prudent to join them. The loss on board the Alliance was three killed and eleven wounded, whilst the enemy had thirty-seven killed and fifty wounded. The specie that was saved contributed to found the bank of North America. The British officers on various occasions indulged in generous feelings when describing their defeat, and applauding the wonderful skill and intrepidity by which the Luzerne was rescued.

Captain BARRY continued in the public service after the close of the war, and contributed to the introduction of a superior model for ships, and of naval arrangements which have often supplied the want of numerical force in the American navy. Under Mr. Adams' administration, he superintended the building of the frigate United States, of which he retained the command until she was laid up in ordinary during the administration of Mr. Jefferson. During the French war he was busily employed in protecting our commerce from depredation.

The active and useful life of this distinguished hero, was closed by an asthmatic affection with which he had been for many years afflicted. He died at Philadelphia on the 13th of September, 1803.

His private life was as estimable, as his public career was brilliant. In his domestic relations he was ingenuous, frank, and affectionate. In his intercourse with mankind, his deportment procured an extensive circle of friends. Deeply impressed with religion, he exacted an observance of its ceremonies and duties on board of his ship, as well as in the retirement of private life. His lofty feelings of honor secured the confidence of the most illustrious men of the nation, and gave him an extensive influence in the various spheres in which his active life required him to move. The regard and admiration of General Washington, which he possessed to an eminent extent, were among the enviable fruits of his patriotic career. His public services were not limited by any customary rule of professional duty, but without regard to expense, danger, or labor, his devotion to his country kept him constantly engaged in disinterested acts of public utility.

DANIEL BOON.

Of all men, saving Sylla the Man-slayer,
Who passes for in life and death most lucky
Of the great names which in our faces stare,
The General Boon, Backwoods-man of Kentucky,
Was happiest among mortals any where;
For killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
Enjoyed the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.
Crime came not near him—she is not the child
Of solitude; health shrank not from him—for
Her home is in the rarely-trodden wild;
Where if men seek her not, and death be more
Their choice than life, forgive them, as beguiled
By habit to what their own hearts abhor—
In cities caged. The present case in point I
Cite is, that Boon lived hunting up to ninety;
And what's still stranger, left behind a name
For which men vainly decimate the throng,
Not only famous, but of that *good* fame,
Without which Glory's but a tavern song—
Simple, serene, the antipodes of shame,
Which hate nor envy e'er could tinge with wrong;
An active hermit, even in age the child
Of Nature, or the Man of Ross run wild.

Byron.

Just twenty-two years before the birth of Daniel Boon, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, established an order of knighthood in the "Ancient Dominion," under the title of "the Tramontane Order, or the Knights of the Golden Horse-shoe." Each of the knights was entitled to wear a golden horse-shoe upon his breast, as a mark of distinction for having penetrated to the summit of the Blue Ridge, all beyond which, at that day, was the unknown west. Could these redoubted heroes have extended the limits of human life but a little beyond the allotted three score years and ten, and have been permitted to stand face to face with the great western pioneer, how their golden honors would have dwindled into insignificance, in comparison with the higher stamp of heroism imprinted upon the person of the sturdy old warrior who is the subject of this brief sketch!

DANIEL BOON was born in the year 1746, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, near Bristol, on the right bank of the Delaware, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. His father emigrated successively to Reading, on the head waters of the Schuylkill, and to one of the valleys of South Yadkin, in North Carolina.

It is believed that his immediate ancestors were among those Catholics who emigrated to Maryland soon after its settlement by Lord Baltimore; but as there is no evidence that he either inherited, or derived from parental culture, even the germ of those peculiarities which distinguished him in after life, we shall not occupy our limited space in tracing out his ancestry, or dwelling at length upon his early years. DANIEL BOON was preëminently the architect of his own character and fortunes. Very early in life he exhibited a fondness for his gun, and the stirring pastime of the chase. Numerous instances are on record of his hair-breadth escapes and daring adventures in pursuit of the panther, the bear, and the wolf, with which the country of his father's adoption abounded. But his peculiar temperament was destined to unfold itself in another and wilder field of adventure. Just before his third emigration, however, he was engaged in an affair which exercised such an important influence upon his after life, that we cannot resist the temptation briefly to relate it. In the immediate neighborhood of his father's new settlement, another adventurer, named Bryan, soon made his appearance, and planted himself upon a beautiful spot, washed on one side by a lovely mountain stream, near which had been the favorite hunting-ground of the young sportsman. On a certain evening, BOON engaged a friend to meet him at this spot, for the purpose of engaging in a "fire hunt." In this wild sport one of the parties usually rides through the forest, with a pine torch borne on high, which, shedding a glaring light through the gloomy precincts, so dazzles the eyes of the deer, that the other party, who is on foot, shoots the game between the eyes, while the bewildered animal is staring at the blaze. BOON's companion was to bear the torch, and accordingly appeared upon the field, and commenced the usual round. They had not proceeded far, when BOON gave the concerted signal to keep the light stationary. The horseman obeyed, and waited in momentary expectation of hearing the sharp and fatal report of his friend's rifle. Not hearing it, however, he turned his horse to ascertain the cause of the unwonted delay, when he saw his friend drop his rifle, and set off in pursuit of some shadowy object, over bush and briar, fence and field.

When Boon gave the signal to his friend, he indeed saw the flame of the torch reflected by a pair of brilliant eyes, and he immediately cocked his gun, and brought it to his eye; but instead of standing stupified by the light to be shot at, the supposed fawn wheeled precipitately, and fled. During this unusual movement, Boon caught a glimpse of the flowing folds of a petticoat—dropped his rifle, and made chase after his game. So intense had been his interest in the pursuit, that he was little less surprised than his new neighbor, Mr. Bryan, when he found himself standing in his door-way, having driven the object of his chase into the paternal arms.

Boon's embarrassment and surprise may easily be imagined, when he saw the consternation of the father and the panting terror of his beautiful daughter, who had scarcely turned her sixteenth summer, and whose lustrous ringlets were flying about her face, neck, and palpitating bosom, in the richest contrast of light and shade. Strange as it may appear of our hardy backwoodsman, he became agitated in his turn; with all the stern and rugged qualities of his nature, he was taken captive at first sight by a maiden's charms. And what was not less strange, the blushing Hebe, who had run into her father's arms, declaring that she was pursued by a panther, now perceived that he was not such a frightful animal, as her first impression in the dark had led her to suppose.

Indeed, Boon was at this time just in the first flush of youthful vigor; his person straight and well proportioned—countenance manly and prepossessing, and the whole appearance of the man presenting such a hero to the eye of the unsophisticated girl, as her imagination was likely to create for itself in that remote and secluded scene. In short, they loved mutually, and Miss Rebecca Bryan in a very short time became Mrs. Boon.

On the first of May, 1769, Boon resigned the domestic comforts of his peaceful habitation on the Yadkin river, and, in obedience to those roving impulses which were always predominant in his character, but which, we may presume, lay dormant during the first joys of conjugal love, started upon his first expedition beyond the Alleghany mountains. He was accompanied, as we are informed by himself, by John Findley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. John Findley was the only one of this adventurous band who had ever visited these untamed regions, as yet under the dominion of wild beasts and wilder men. Findley, in his former trading expedition with the Indians, had penetrated as far as Red river; and on the 7th of June, our adventurers found themselves on the banks of the same stream. Here, from the top of an eminence, Boon, like Moses of old, beheld the land of promise, here the broad bottoms—skirting the since far-famed Kentucky, first greeted his longing eyes. He informs us of his raptures at the enchanting prospect, with something of the true poetical fire.

Here they erected a rude shanty, to protect themselves from the rains, which had much impeded their previous hunting excursions on the route. They found the country abounding with game of every description indigenous to those latitudes of North America. The plains were covered with buffaloes, running wild in herds far surpassing in number, as Boon informs us, any thing he had ever seen in the fields of the wealthiest grazier. To the salt springs of the region, especially, they found that the buffalo and deer came in droves. Here Boon was in his glory: killing all kinds of game to his heart's content through the day, and at night meeting with his companions in their rude shanty, to recapitulate the adventures of the day, eat their venison and buffalo steaks, and enliven the solitude of the place with such minstrelsy as their company afforded. This sort of life, so congenial to the feelings of Boon, was kept up until the 22d of September, when an unfortunate adventure befel two of the party, which turned their hitherto jovial evening meetings into sorrow and repining.

On the morning of that day, it fell to the lot of Boon and Stuart to hunt together; they met with extraordinary success throughout the greater part of the day, until toward evening, as they were ascending a high hill near the Kentucky river, covered to its summit with majestic trees, which threw their gigantic shadows far down its sides, casting a sombre hue over the primeval landscape, a horde of savages rushed from their gloomy hiding-places, and made them prisoners. The Indians plundered them of their game and principal clothing, and kept them in close confinement.

With that tact for which Boon was afterwards so distinguished, he induced his companion to assume, and pretended himself, the greatest indifference as to their escape. On the seventh night of their captivity, when the vigilance of the savages was well nigh disarmed by the well acted *ruse*, and the whole camp was wrapt in profound slumber, Boon gently awoke his companion, and regaining their arms, they escaped without rousing their usually watchful captors. They immediately pursued their way to the shanty; but here another disappointment awaited them: they found it plundered, and their companions dispersed, murdered, or gone home—they knew not which. Desolate and friendless indeed was their situation now: hundreds of miles from the habitation of civilized man, almost destitute of clothing and ammunition, surrounded by thousands of cruel and murderous savages; and the wild forests, in which the sound of the axe had never been heard, teeming with wild beasts, which nightly sent up frightful howls to destroy their rest. But Boon never despaired; he kept up his own vigor of body and mind, and reanimated the spirits of his companion. He called all their slender resources into action, husbanded his ammunition and the game which was its product, and was proceeding in that course which only could have preserved their lives and conducted them to their homes, when Providence sent them by other and more direct means a most unexpected deliverance. Boon's brother, either fired with some of his ardor for the wild excitement of the forest, or fearing the result which had actually occurred, set out in company with a friend upon the same route. While Daniel Boon and his now sole companion, Stuart, were out in pursuit of their daily supply of game, Squire Boon (as our adventurer calls his brother) and his companion accidentally discovered their encampment. The new comers were quietly seated in the shanty, regaling themselves upon the good things which Daniel and Stuart were so carefully husbanding for the last resort, when the two latter arrived towards night-fall at their camp. What must have been their surprise and delight when they returned to their lone quarters, and found two civilized beings like themselves, well provided in those necessaries the failure of which they had begun to anticipate with so much dread! Joyful indeed was the meeting, and the reader may conceive with what zest their various adventures were related and listened to.

But this restoration to something like the enjoyment of social life, was destined to be again interrupted. John Stuart, the companion of Daniel Boon in his captivity among the Indians, was soon after slain in an encounter with a small party of one of the numerous hordes inhabiting that wild and unreclaimed country. After this unfortunate occurrence, the companion of Squire Boon became disheartened, and returned home; thus leaving our adventurer once more with a single companion in the wilderness. His situation, however, was now vastly better than it was when the unfortunate Stuart and himself were the sole tenants of the forest. They had now horses and ammunition, and all those necessaries upon which life depends in such a situation.

Winter began to make its approach, and the two Boons thought it advisable to construct for themselves a more commodious dwelling, and one better calculated to protect them from the inclemency of the advancing season. Accordingly they set to work, and built (as Daniel assures us, in such fragments of his journal as have been preserved) a comfortable cottage. They found plenty of game to subsist on through the winter, and were undisturbed by the savages. But the month of May found the brothers again looking forward, with dread and anxiety, to the exhaustion of their stock of ammunition. With that true wisdom which necessity and suffering always teach, these energetic young men did not wait until the evil day came on, but braced themselves like true heroes to the urgency of the occasion. One of them resolved to return home, and procure those things of which they now stood in need, while the other should await his return.

On the first of May, 1770, Squire Boon commenced his journey homewards, for the purpose of procuring ammunition, salt, and sugar, leaving Daniel without any of these necessaries, except a small supply of ball and powder. One would naturally suppose that the remaining brother would have suffered dreadfully from the constant dread of savages, wild beasts, famine, or sickness, in this lone place; but, strange as it may appear, he assures us that he was amply compensated for the want of society, by the glories of nature, so lavishly spread around him,—the magnificent trees just clothing themselves in the green livery of summer, the beautiful flowers, and the wild herds nipping the pasturage on the wide plains extending, like an immense panorama, as far as the eye could reach. It would seem, from this view of his character by his own hand, that the sterner qualities of mind, and the power of enduring bodily fatigue, are not necessarily incompatible with the softer sentiments of the heart.

Daniel Boon continued in these solitary quarters until the 27th of July, occasionally expending a small portion of his ammunition in killing game necessary for his sustenance, with such caution as the miser uses in parting with his treasured hoard. The Indians frequently visited his quarters during his absence, as he found by their foot-marks. This induced him, whenever the weather would permit, to secrete himself in the cane-brakes or neighboring bushes, for the purpose of passing the night in greater security. To this precaution he attributed the preservation of his life. On the day just mentioned, his brother returned, provided with an ample supply of those articles which are more valued than gold and silver in these primitive regions.

They soon after left the quarters which had so long, and under such variety of incidents, afforded them shelter, and proceeded on an expedition to the Cumberland river, making observations on the country through which they passed, for future use; and naming the rivers which they were compelled to ford.

In March, 1771, the two adventurers returned to their families on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. The subject of our memoir found his family in happy circumstances, and, as may be well imagined, delighted at the return of him whom they had almost despaired of ever more beholding. He informs us, that he was so charmed with the country of the "*Kentucke*," that he was determined, at the risk of his life, to remove his family thither. Accordingly, having sold his farm on the Yadkin, and induced five families in the vicinity to join him, they set out on their expedition on the 25th September, 1773. As they journeyed through Powell's Valley, which was then one hundred and forty-five miles from the settled parts of Virginia, forty hardy sons of the forest joined the adventurous enterprise. They pursued their journey uninterruptedly until the 10th of October, when the rear of the caravan was furiously attacked by a large body of Indians. Our adventurers fought with great bravery, and handled their rifles with their usual unerring precision, and were at length enabled to repulse an enemy greatly superior to them in number, but not without losses in their own ranks. Six men were killed, and one wounded. Among the former was Boon's eldest son, a most daring and impetuous lad, whose death, he assures us, covered the enterprise with gloom and melancholy. During the engagement, the Indians succeeded in scattering their cattle and otherwise injuring their property, so that they were compelled to retreat forty miles to the settlement on Clinch river.

They had passed over two mountains, Powell's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this misfortune befel them. These mountains are situated in what was then called the wilderness, between the settlements then existing in Western Virginia, and the place of their destination. These they were now compelled to recross, and the enterprise was abandoned by nearly all those who had engaged in it. Thus was this gallant little band dispersed by the unfortunate rencounter with the savages. Boon remained with his family at the settlements on Clinch river, until the 6th of June, 1774, when he, together with an adventurer by the name of Storer, was engaged by Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of the Ohio. This was a tour of near eight hundred miles—performed on foot, and accomplished in sixty-two days.

On his return, Governor Dunmore gave him the command of three garrisons, which he maintained during the war of the period, against the Shawnese.

In March 1775, he was requested by a number of gentlemen of North Carolina to attend at an assemblage of the Cherokee Indians, convened for the purpose of forming a treaty, and purchasing their lands south of the "*Kentucke.*"

He was soon afterwards employed to mark out the most direct route for a road from the settlements in Virginia to the country of his first adventures.

Having collected a number of hardy and enterprising men, well armed, he soon began his work, and proceeded until he came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands. Here the savages attacked them, killed two, and wounded two more of the adventurers.

On the 5th of March 1775, three days after the rencounter just mentioned, the Indians attacked them again, when two more were killed and three wounded. After these disasters, they pursued their enterprise to the Kentucky river, without further molestation.

On the 1st of April 1775, Boon commenced the erection of a fort, about sixty yards from the river, near one of the salt licks, the very spot upon which Boonsborough now stands.

This rude palisade was finished on the 14th June of the same year, when he returned to the settlements on Clinch river, for the purpose of removing his family to this distant and uncultivated land. They arrived at the fort without any adventure worthy of note. Mrs. Boon and her daughter were the first of their race and sex that ever stood upon the banks of the Kentucky river.

The Indians were much dissatisfied at the erection of this fort, and on the 14th of December 1775, made a desperate assault upon its inmates, by which one man was killed and another wounded. After this repulse, and the great loss sustained on this occasion by the Indians, they treacherously appeared to give up all idea of farther molesting the new settlers. Their seeming resignation to the presence of the intruders was persevered in until the 14th of July 1776, exactly seven months, by which time the inhabitants of the fort were completely thrown off their guard, insomuch that the daughters of the residents made frequent excursions into the forests in the vicinity. On the day above r [illegible] young ladies, two of them daughters of Colonel Calaway, and the third the daughter of Boon, were leisurely strolling through the woods in the immediate neighborhood of the fort, when they were pursued and captured by a party of Indians, before they could make good their retreat within the gates.

On this occasion the treacherous foe had separated into small parties, as agreed on by previous arrangement, and simultaneously attacked all the other forts and settlements, several of which had sprung up during the long season of tranquillity.

Boon was no sooner apprised of the absence of the young ladies, on his return from hunting, than he promptly and without waiting for the coöperation of his friends, pursued the trail, which he easily discovered. He knew perfectly well, that if he waited to collect a large force, the cunning robbers would be entirely out of his reach. By that sagacity for which he was so remarkable, he was enabled to keep on the trail without the least deviation, and at length he discovered that the fair young captives had themselves preserved sufficient presence of mind to indicate the course of their captors, by snapping a small twig from time to time, as they passed through the shrubbery on their route. At length he came in sight of the kidnappers, and after slaying two of the three, recovered the fair prisoners,* by his single, unaided and unerring rifle.

Hostilities were continued from this time until the 15th of April 1777, when a simultaneous attack by the united hordes was made upon Boonsborough. The effective force of the savages amounted to about one hundred; in this engagement the whites had one killed and four wounded. July 14th, they made a second assault with double their former number;—the battle lasted forty-eight hours, during which the besieged again lost one man and another was wounded. This too, it appears, was but a part of another simultaneous movement against all the white settlements, as Colonel Logan's fort and others were attacked at the same time.

About the 25th of July, Boon's settlement received an accession of twenty-five men from North Carolina. The sight of these new adventurers was truly welcome to the inhabitants of the town or fort, as it was indifferently called, as their previous losses in battle rendered such an accession of strength almost indispensable to the farther prosecution of the enterprise.

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* This, it will appear to the reader, is a very different account of the adventures, from that given in a life of Boon by one of our most distinguished writers. We have followed the account given in Boon's own journal, dictated by himself, and published during his life time. This explanation may also suffice for many similar discrepancies in the two accounts.

But this deficiency was still more amply supplied, on the 20th of August, when Colonel Bowman, with one hundred men, arrived from Virginia. After this powerful reinforcement, they waited no longer to receive the attacks of the Indians behind their breastworks, but sallied out nearly every day, and drove them from the vicinity.

"The savages now learned the superiority of the *Long Knives*, as they called the Virginians, being out-generaled in almost every battle."

The affairs of the colonists began to wear a brighter aspect; the savages no longer ventured to attack them in open day, but practised cunning devices, laid in ambuscade, and treacherously betrayed the whites on all occasions when they could induce them to listen to their promises of friendship.

On the 1st of January 1778, Colonel Boon set out with thirty men, and commenced making salt for the first time in that region, at the Blue Licks, on Licking river. They manufactured a sufficient quantity for all the civilized inhabitants of the infant community.

On the 7th of February, as Colonel Boon was hunting alone through these primitive forests, he was surprised by one hundred Indians, and two Frenchmen.

They took him prisoner: after which he ascertained that they were marching to attack Boonsborough. He immediately capitulated for his followers, now only twenty-seven in number, many of the former company having gone to the settlement with salt.

The Indians carried their prisoners to Old Chilicothe, the principal Indian town on the Little Miami, and according to the terms of capitulation, used them generously. They arrived at Chilicothe on the 18th of February, after having suffered severely with the cold and fatigue of the journey.

On the 10th of March, Boon, with ten of his followers, was ordered to Detroit, where they arrived on the 30th, and were treated with great humanity by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at the post.

The Indians set out with Boon, determined to offer him for ransom to the governor, but by the time they arrived at Detroit, they had become so much attached to him that they refused one hundred pounds sterling, which was offered for his person. They left the other persons and returned with him to Chilicothe. He was now, according to their customs in such cases, regularly adopted into one of the aboriginal families, and he informs us that he became very intimate with his new sisters and brothers, and that his new father and mother were passionately fond of him. By affecting great fondness for their sports, and perfect contentment in his new situation, he was soon permitted to consult his own pleasure as to his time and movements;—their vigilance entirely abated, and after frequently increasing their confidence by returning from long excursions, he at length determined to attempt his escape. This determination was greatly precipitated, however, by a most unexpected incident. While he was thus meditating upon the plan of effecting the long cherished object, he was astonished to see an assemblage of four hundred warriors at Chilicothe. They came to make arrangements for an attack on Boonsborough. Boon no sooner heard their destination, than he determined to anticipate them. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, before sunrise, he escaped and reached Boonsborough on the 20th, a journey of one hundred and sixty miles, during which he ate but one meal. He found the fortress in a bad state, but immediately set all hands to repairing flanks, gates, and posterns, and also to forming double bastions, all which was completed in less than ten days. Soon after his return, another of the prisoners, who had escaped from Chilicothe, made his appearance and informed Boon that the Indians had postponed their intended attack for three weeks, in consequence of his escape.

About the 1st of August, Boon set out with nineteen men to surprise an Indian town called Point Creek, situated on the Sciota. Within four miles of their own fort, they met forty Indians on their way to attack them. A desperate engagement immediately ensued, in which Boon and his party came off victorious, and without losing one of their number. They took three horses and all the Indian baggage.

On the 8th of August, Boonsborough was summoned to surrender by the most formidable armament that had ever appeared before its walls. The assailants consisted of four hundred and forty-four Indians, and eleven Frenchmen, the whole commanded by Captain Duquesne, also a Frenchman. Boon requested two days for consideration, which were granted; in the mean time, he brought in through the postern gate all the horses and other cattle that could be collected on the emergency.

On the 9th, in the evening, Boon informed the French commander that he was determined to defend the fort while there was a man capable of handling a rifle.

The Frenchman then proposed a treaty, the articles of which Boon agreed too, and the enemy required that he should come out with nine men and sign it. Boon with the required number issued forth and signed the documents. The Indians then told him that two Indians must shake hands simultaneously with each of his men; that it was a custom of their's from time immemorial. To this Boon with some reluctance also consented. When the Indians came to perform this part of the ceremony, they found that they had rather underrated the strength of the whites when they matched two Indians to each. As Boon had apprehended, the two savages attempted to hold fast, each couple to their man, but the hardy pioneers threw them off with ease, and rushed to the fort, which was not more than fifty yards distant. In this last attempt, however, one of the nine was unfortunately wounded by a heavy fire, which the enemy showered upon the fugitives.

The Frenchman next attempted to undermine the fort, and commenced operations at the water mark of the Kentucky river. Boon immediately commenced countermining, which the Frenchman no sooner perceived than he gave up the scheme, and on the 20th, raised the siege. During the siege, the beleaguered party had two men killed and four wounded, besides a number of cattle. They killed thirty-nine of the enemy, and wounded a large number.

During the absence of Colonel Boon, or rather during his captivity among the Shawnees, Mrs. Boon and her children, supposing the head of the family slain, returned to the house of Mrs. Boon's father on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. Colonel Boon now determined to return into North Carolina in pursuit of them.

He returned to Boonsborough with his family, after an absence of nearly two years, during which time many important Indian battles were won and lost by the hardy adventurers on the western frontiers. Colonel Boon's brother returned to Kentucky with him, and shortly afterward, as the brothers were returning from the licks, Squire was killed by a shot from the Indians. Colonel Boon escaped after a rapid flight, and killing a dog which the Indians had set upon the trail.

The country began now to assume the appearance of cultivation and civilization, and numbers seeing Boonsborough, and hearing fine accounts of the country, came from Virginia and North Carolina, and settled in the new country.

It would be utterly impossible to give even a synopsis of the many adventures, Indian battles, treaties, and hair-breadth escapes in which the subject of our sketch was engaged during the greater part of the time occupied by the war of independence. It has been seen that Boon and his companions waged war upon their own account, and in all other respects acted as men alike independent of the restraints and the protection of the social compact; nevertheless, many of his late adventures were more or less connected with the interesting events of that period; to the history of the general transactions on the western frontier, we would refer our readers, our business being purely with the adventures of Daniel Boon.

Many forts were now erected in the vicinity of Boonsborough: every settlement in this new region being generally protected by a palisade or block house. To the defence of these, Boon was often called, and seldom was the call made in vain. He often during this period, also joined adventurous bands and sallied out into the open field to meet the enemy. Such was the life led by him until the defeat of the northern Indians by General Wayne, when he again resumed uninterruptedly, that employment in which he delighted. While he was thus engaged a constant stream of emigration had been pouring into this new and attractive region, until April 1792, when Kentucky was admitted into the Union.

During the time which intervened between Wayne's victory and the establishment of the new state, Virginia had enacted laws, concerning the land titles of the new territory, with which Boon in the simplicity of his heart failed to comply, or if he complied at all, it was done so loosely, that the discoverer of the region was deprived of that very spot for which he had fought so heroically and suffered so much in person and family. These considerations, together with a certain uneasiness at the growing density of the population, induced him again to think of seeking the "far west."

Having lately seen some adventurers returning from an expedition up the Missouri, who described the country bordering on that river in glowing colors, Boon resolved once more to seek a new home in the solitude of the Missouri. Accordingly, in 1798, we find him journeying again to the "new land of promise." "Being inquired of as to what induced him to leave all the comforts of home, and so rich and flourishing a country as his dear Kentucky, which he had discovered and helped to win from the Indians, for the wilds of Missouri? 'Too crowded! too crowded! I want more elbow room,' he replied." He proceeded to what is now called St. Charles, about forty-five miles above St. Louis. Here he found a government somewhat after his own heart, and a country as wild and unreclaimed as he could desire. The only form of government was a sort of military republic, or rather huntsmen's republic; the chief of which was called commandant. To this office Boon was immediately elected. He retained this office until his new home, like the former, became subject to other laws and other councils.

He continued to reside here, however, until 1813, when he had the misfortune to lose his wife, the faithful companion who had followed him through so many trials and troubles.

After this melancholy event, the now aged adventurer removed to the residence of his son, Major Nathan Boon, where he continued to reside in comfort and repose, amusing himself occasionally by trapping beavers, until the year 1818, when he calmly and resignedly breathed his last at the age of eighty-four years.

The name of Boon will endure as long as the rivers he discovered shall continue to pay their tribute to the great father of waters.

W. A. C.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE,

LL. D., F. R. S.

THE life of a philosopher affords less scope for the pen of a biographer, than the career of a warrior or statesman. His thoughts make but a small impression in comparison with deeds of arms, but he is nevertheless entitled to equal regard when his mind is employed for the purpose of extending the knowledge of his fellow creatures, or his discoveries and acquirements are such as those of RITTENHOUSE.

This amiable philosopher was born near Germantown, Pennsylvania, April 8th, 1732; his parents emigrated from Holland, and had been distinguished, as well as their progenitors, for probity, industry, and simple manners; they had been proprietors of considerable paper manufactories. The youth of Mr. RITTENHOUSE was passed on the farm of his father in the county of Montgomery, twenty miles from Philadelphia, whither his father removed during the childhood of the son. His peculiar turn of mind there manifested itself; his plough, the fences, and even the stones of the field in which he worked, were found covered with figures denoting a talent for mathematics. His health, never robust, unfitting him for hard labor, his father consented that he should acquire the trade of a clock and mathematical instrument maker; a trunk containing tools which had been the property of a maternal relative, afforded the instruments with which he worked, and he was mainly his own teacher. He early made himself master of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, through the medium of Mott's translation, and studied the science of fluxions; of this invention he conceived himself at first to be the author, nor was he undeceived for some years, when he ascertained that a contest had been carried on between Sir Isaac Newton and Leibnitz, for the honor of the discovery. On this, Dr. Rush remarks; "what a mind was here! without literary friends or society, and with but two or three books, he became, before he reached his twenty-fourth year, the rival of the two greatest mathematicians in Europe!"

From the age of eighteen to twenty-five, his time during the day was actively employed upon his labors, while the night, or his idle hours, as he called the time for sleep, was devoted to study. It was during this double occupation, that Mr. Rittenhouse projected and completed an instrument which required the union of knowledge and mechanical skill of the highest order; this was his *Orrery*, which he succeeded in making more complete than had been done by former astronomers. A description of this great instrument will be found in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society; this Orrery was purchased by Princeton college, New Jersey, where it still remains. It exhibits the positions of the planets and their satellites at any given period of the world; past, present, or future; thus forming a perpetual astronomical almanac, where the results, in lieu of being found in tables, are actually exhibited to the sight. He completed a second, after the same model, for the college of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, where it still is. This extraordinary instrument commanded the wonder and admiration of the learned from every part of the world.

A genius of such superior order could not long remain in obscurity; the fame of his Orrery spread far and wide. Several gentlemen, among whom were his brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Barton, Dr. Smith, and an ingenious mathematician, named John Lukens, appreciating more fully his talents, united in inviting him to take up his residence in Philadelphia, where his opportunities for acquiring knowledge and fame, would be enlarged; yielding, not without reluctance, he removed to that city in the year 1770, where he continued to manufacture mathematical instruments, which were acknowledged to be superior to any imported. Having previously joined the American Philosophical Society, he made a communication to that body, respecting the transit of Venus, as it would occur on the 3d of June, 1769, and was appointed on the committee to observe it in the township of Norriton, In the preparations for this observation, he was extremely active and useful; the management and construction of the apparatus being perfectly familiar to him. This phenomenon had been seen but twice by the inhabitants of our earth; it would never be again visible to any person then alive; on it depended many astronomical calculations: under such circumstances, our young star-gazer was of course in a state of mental excitement and solicitude. The sun of that day rose without a cloud; the moment of observation came—the great event occurred as Rittenhouse predicted, and so excited was he at the circumstance, that in the instant of one of the contacts of the planet with the sun, he actually fainted with emotion. His report was received with satisfaction by the learned, everywhere, and acquired him an extended reputation.

In 1775, he delivered the annual oration before the Philosophical Society; it was marked by ingenious though simple language, and comprehended a lucid history of astronomy. Though delivered in a feeble tone of voice, and without the graces of the practised orator, it commanded profound attention from the audience. Astronomy was his favorite study, and the theme of the greater part of his communications for the society's transactions.

Pennsylvania viewed with pride the accession of so valued a son, and soon took care to provide for talents so uncommon; he was employed in several geodetic operations involving a considerable stake. In 1779, the legislature appointed him one of the commissioners to settle the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia; this he was mainly instrumental in terminating satisfactorily in 1783. In 1784, he assisted in determining the length of five degrees of longitude, from a point on the Delaware, in order to fix the western limits of the state, and in 1786, he fixed the northern line between New York and Pennsylvania. He performed the same service for New York and New Jersey, in 1769; and in 1787, he was called upon to ascertain the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York. This occupation led him to long and lonely rambles in the wilderness, to which he carried with him his habits of inquiry and investigation; but we do not find any mention of particular acquisitions thereby obtained to natural history.

In 1791, he was elected to fill the chair of president of the American Philosophical Society, vacant by the death of Dr. Franklin. His attachment to the society was evinced by a donation to its funds of the sum of three hundred pounds.

Though so ardently attached to the study of his choice, he had paid attention to theology, and was well acquainted with practical metaphysics; a great reader, a musician, and a poet; had acquired an intimate knowledge of the French, German, and Dutch languages, in which he took delight to peruse the works of the learned of those countries. His name was known and revered in every place where science was respected. Wherever he went, he was honored. As president of the society, he was much esteemed for his bland and unassuming manners, as well as for his affectionate regard for others.

He received the degree of master of arts, in 1768, from the college of Philadelphia, and the same honor was conferred upon him by the college of William and Mary, in Virginia, in 1784. The college of

New Jersey made him a doctor of laws, and he was elected a member of the American Academy of Sciences, at Boston, in 1782, and of the Royal Society of London, in 1795.

Rittenhouse was not only practically a Christian, but he believed emphatically in the Christian Revelation; forming another triumph over the vague assertion that men of genius are unbelievers. Newton and Rittenhouse will outweigh a host of thoughtless blasphemers. His beloved country occupied much of his thoughts, and was the object of the affections of his heart. Educated a republican by his father, he was firm to the principles of the revolution. In 1777, Dr. Rittenhouse was appointed treasurer of Pennsylvania; this office he held by an annual and unanimous vote of the legislature, till 1789.

In 1792, he reluctantly accepted the appointment of Director of the Mint of the United States; this office his ill health obliged him to resign in 1795. His conduct was here above suspicion; his colleague in office having declared, that he even paid for work done at the mint, out of his own salary, where he thought the charges would be considered unreasonable.

His economy extended to a wise and profitable use of his time; he was never unemployed, giving once as an apology for detaining a friend a few minutes, while he arranged some papers he had been examining, that "he had once thought health the greatest blessing in the world, but that he now thought that there was one thing of much greater value, and that was time." The philosopher was a stranger to pride and imposture in every thing. His immediate family constituted his chief society, and when the declining state of his health rendered social intercourse more pleasing than solitary study, he passed his evenings in reading or conversation with his wife and daughters.

His house and style of living, exhibited the taste of a philosopher, the simplicity of a republican, and the temper of a Christian. With his estate, though small, he was content: his mind was his fortune; avarice found no place in a breast which could calculate the stars, and estimate, at its true value, the fleetness of time and the length of eternity. Happy, indeed, is that family, where such just ideas prevail; there content waits upon cheerfulness, and the hope of immortality fortifies against the fear of death.

His constitution was naturally feeble, and he had impaired it by sedentary labor, and assiduous midnight study. A weak breast was the result, and whenever he made unusual exertions of body or mind, or during sudden changes of temperature, it became the seat of a painful and harassing disorder. His last illness was short and painful; but his patience and kind feelings never forsook him while life remained. Upon being told that some of his friends had called to inquire how he was, he asked why they were not invited into his chamber to see him? "Because," said his wife, "you are too weak to speak to them." "Yes," he said, "but I could still have squeezed their hands." Thus, with a heart overflowing with love to his family, his friends, country, and to the whole world, he peacefully resigned his spirit into the hands of his God.

Dr. Rush, his intimate friend, has thus described his person and manners; "The countenance of Mr. Rittenhouse was too remarkable to remain unnoticed. It displayed such a mixture of contemplation, benignity, and innocence, that it was easy to distinguish his person in the largest company, by a previous knowledge of his character. His manners were civil and engaging to such a degree, that he seldom passed an hour, even in a public house, in travelling through our country, without being followed by the good wishes of all who attended upon him. There was no affectation of singularity, in any thing he said or did; even his hand-writing, in which this weakness so frequently discovers itself, was simple and intelligible at first sight, to all who saw it.

"Here I expected to have finished the detail of his virtues, but in the neighborhood of that galaxy created by their connected lustre, I behold a virtue of inestimable value, twinkling like a rare and solitary star. It is his superlative modesty. This heaven-born virtue was so conspicuous in every part of his conduct, that he appeared not so much to conceal, as to be ignorant of, his superiority as a philosopher and a man, over the greatest part of his fellow-creatures."

In stature, Dr. Rittenhouse was somewhat tall; in his person, slender and straight; and although his constitution was delicate, his bodily frame did not appear to have been originally weak; his gait was quick, and his general movements lively; his face was of an oval form; his complexion fair, with brown hair in youth, somewhat whitened by age. All his features were good; forehead high, capacious and smooth; his grayish-colored eyes expressed animation, reflection, and good nature. In his temper, he was naturally placid and good humored, yet sometimes grave and inclined to pensiveness; in proportion to his means, he was remarkably charitable. He loved quiet and order, and preferred retirement to the bustle of the world. He considered ambition, pomp, and ostentation, as being generally inconsistent with true happiness.

Professor Barton, the deceased's nephew and friend, who attended him in his last illness, states, that after doing something to alleviate his pain, he asked him if he did not feel easier; "he calmly answered in these memorable words, which it is impossible for me to forget, for they were the last he ever distinctly uttered, and they make us acquainted with the two most important features of his religious creed; 'Yes, you have made the way to God easier!'"

The remains of this distinguished philosopher were deposited, agreeably to a desire he had expressed long before his death, beneath the pavement within the small observatory which he had erected many years before, in the garden adjoining his house. The house is still standing at the north west corner of Arch and Seventh streets, but the observatory has disappeared to make way for modern improvements, and the body now rests in the cemetery adjoining the Presbyterian church in Pine street, Philadelphia, near the body of his son-in-law, Mr. Sergeant. The grave of the American astronomer is enclosed under a plain marble slab, thus inscribed:—

IN MEMORY OF
DAVID RITTENHOUSE,
BORN APRIL 18TH, 1732,
DIED JUNE 26TH, 1796;
AND
HANNAH RITTENHOUSE,
HIS WIFE,
WHO DIED OCTOBER 15TH,
1799,
AGED 64 YEARS.

Mr. Jefferson succeeded him as president of the Philosophical Society. That individual, in his refutation of the Count de Buffon's preposterous theory, "of the tendency of nature to *belittle* her productions on this side the Atlantic," has said, after mentioning in proper terms, Washington and Franklin, &c., "we have supposed RITTENHOUSE second to no astronomer living; that in genius he must be the first, because he is self-taught. As an artist, he has exhibited as great a proof of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced. He has not indeed made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached nearer his Maker than any mere man who has lived from the creation to this day."

A list of the papers communicated by Dr. RITTENHOUSE to the society of which he was president, will be found in his memoirs, written by William Barton, M. A., and published in Philadelphia in 1813.

DAVID HUMPHREYS.

David Humphreys was the son of the Rev. Daniel Humphreys, pastor of a Presbyterian church in the town of Derby, in the state of Connecticut.

He was born in the year 1753. His juvenile history would probably be of little importance, even were it practicable to trace it with accuracy, after the lapse of so many years.

He entered Yale college as a freshman, in the year 1767, and received his diploma as bachelor of arts, in the year 1771. Either owing to the exciting causes, which eventually terminated in the establishment of American independence, or to a singular combination of youthful intellectual powers, the brief time of the presidency of Dr. Daggett seems to present the most brilliant display of eminent names that is furnished by the catalogue of Yale college.

Young Humphreys was among the pupils of that presidency. Trumbull, Dwight, and Humphreys, contemporaries as academicians, and soon after, Barlow, while they maintained honorable rank as scholars, brought the charms of poetry from their studies, to grace the progress of freedom, and strew flowers on the pathway of liberty. Excitements that influenced teachers, who considered even clerical immunities and obligations as forming no just exemption from active personal service in opposition to tyranny and oppression, operated with wonderful effect on the minds of pupils. A love of letters became united with a love of country; scholarship and patriotism formed an alliance, and literature in all its branches lent its aid to the cause of freedom.

The young bards of the college raised their animating strains; and with the caustic satire of Trumbull, the noble songs of Dwight, and the elaborate efforts of Barlow, were mingled the patriotic effusions of Humphreys. Their early efforts presaged much for the future; and now, since they have all passed from the stage of action, it is with pride and pleasure that we can interweave their laurels.

But it was not alone in poetry that their efforts were expended. Trumbull, the friend and favorite law student of the elder President Adams, gave an animating impulse, as a political writer, in furtherance of the cause of liberty; Barlow and Dwight became chaplains in the army; while the more ambitious energy of HUMPHREYS, led him to the field as a soldier.

After the completion of his collegiate studies, HUMPHREYS resided (it is presumed in the character of an instructer) in the family of Colonel Phillips, of Phillips' manor, in Westchester county, New York. How long he remained in the family of Colonel Phillips, is not known to the writer; but from a sonnet "addressed to his friends at Yale college, on leaving them to join the army," it is supposed, that he returned again to classic ground, and, having there sought a place, in which his talents could be useful to his country, embarked as an early soldier in the cause of the revolution. The first stanza of the sonnet expresses his feelings:

"Adieu, thou Yale! where youthful poets dwell;
No more I linger by thy classic stream.
Inglorious ease and sportive songs, farewell!
Thou startling clarion! break the sleeper's dream!

Mr. HUMPHREYS entered the army as a captain. His literary talents and patriotic sentiments commended him to the early notice of the most efficient and discerning officers; and in 1778, with the lineal rank of captain, he held the additional appointment of aid to Major General Putnam. In October, 1777, it appears from a note inserted in his "Life of General Putnam," that he was "major of brigade to the first Connecticut brigade." The period to which the note refers, was the time of the capture of Fort Montgomery, by Sir Henry Clinton; and the brigade to which HUMPHREYS was attached, was commanded by Brigadier General Theophilus Parsons. The acquaintance formed at that time, probably led to his more intimate association with Major General Putnam, who was then acting under the appointment of Washington, as commander "of a separate army in the Highlands of New York."

The peculiar circumstances, under which the revolutionary army was organized, rendered the services of well educated and patriotic young men peculiarly acceptable to sagacious commanders. The confidential situation of aid became important, both in field and cabinet service, and the ablest and best informed young men were selected for that station. It was in this field of duty, combining as well the cultivated talents of a scholar as the ardor of a devoted soldier of liberty, that HUMPHREYS was destined to serve his country.

Without tracing his biography with the minuteness befitting the historian of a national chief, it may, perhaps, be sufficient to note the outline of his services as a soldier, by a quotation from his poem, "On the Happiness of America," addressed "to the American people," soon after the close of the revolutionary war. In alluding to the interest that another generation might feel in the incidents that resulted in the birth of a new empire, he thus alludes to his personal agency:

"I, too, perhaps, should Heaven prolong my date,
The oft-repeated tale shall oft relate;
Shall tell the feelings in the first alarms,
Of some bold enterprise the unequalled charms;
Shall tell from whom I learnt the martial art,
With what high chief I play'd my early part:
With Parsons first, whose eye, with piercing ken,
Reads through their hearts the characters of men;
Then how I aided, in the following scene,
Death-daring Putnam, then immortal Greene;
Then how great Washington my youth approv'd,
In rank preferred, and as a parent lov'd,
(For each fine feeling in his bosom blends
The first of heroes, sages, patriots, friends,)
With him what hours on war-like plans I spent,
Beneath the shadow of th' imperial tent;
With him how oft I went the nightly round,
Through moving hosts, or slept on tented ground;
From him, how oft, (nor far below the first
In high behests and confidential trust,)
From him how oft I bore the dread commands,
Which destined for the fight the eager bands:
With him how oft I passed th' eventful day,
Rode by his side, as down the long array
His awful voice the columns taught to form,
To point the thunder, and to pour the storm.
But, thanks to heaven! those days of blood are o'er," &c.

From allusions in the preceding extract, it appears that HUMPHREYS had the singular good fortune to be allied, on terms of family intimacy, with several of the most discriminating, intelligent, and efficient chiefs of the revolution. To have been selected in perilous times, from a host of aspiring young men, as the confidential friend of Parsons, Putnam, Greene, and Washington; and to have accompanied them successively, as a staff officer, through the vicissitudes and dangers of their campaigns, is proof sufficient of his capacity and bravery as a soldier. Indeed we cannot but readily pardon the vanity of the youthful poet, in recording with pride the noble testimonials that had been thus awarded to his talents and patriotism by such illustrious men.

He received his appointment as aid and military secretary to General Washington, in 1780, and, after visiting his old friend, General Putnam, who was suffering under the effects of a paralytic attack, at Pomfret, Connecticut, joined the family of the commander-in-chief, in the early part of that year. From that time, he constantly resided with Washington, enjoying his full confidence and friendship, and sharing in the toils of his arduous duties, until the close of the war.

On the surrender of Cornwallis, the captured standards were delivered to his charge. In the honors conferred by a grateful country on the actors in that brilliant campaign, Colonel HUMPHREYS was not forgotten. In November, 1781, congress "Resolved, that an elegant sword be presented in the name of the United States, in congress assembled, to Colonel HUMPHREYS, aid-de-camp of General Washington, to whose care the standards taken under the capitulation of York were consigned, as a testimony of their opinion of his fidelity and ability; and that the board of war take order thereon." In the year 1786, this resolution was carried into effect, and the sword presented by General Knox, secretary of war, accompanied by a highly complimentary letter.

In November, 1782, he was, by resolution of congress, commissioned as lieutenant-colonel, with order that his commission should bear date from the 23d of June, 1780, when he received his appointment as aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief. He had, when in active service, given the sanction of his name and influence in the establishment of a company of *colored infantry*, attached to Meigs', afterwards Butler's regiment, in the Connecticut line. He continued to be the nominal captain of that company, until the establishment of peace.

The preliminaries of peace between the United States and Great Britain, having been agreed on, in November, 1782, the operations of the army were soon after suspended; although the commander-in-chief continued with the northern division until December, 1783, when he resigned his commission. He was attended at Annapolis, on that interesting occasion, by Colonel HUMPHREYS, who thence, accompanied him to Mount Vernon.

In May, 1784, Colonel HUMPHREYS was elected by congress, secretary to the commission for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign powers. The commissioners were John Adams, then minister in Holland; Benjamin Franklin, then minister in France; and Thomas Jefferson, who received his appointment as commissioner three days previous to the election of Colonel HUMPHREYS as secretary.

In July of the same year, he accompanied Mr. Jefferson to Europe. Several eminent men, and among them his friend, General Kosciusko, were the companions of his voyage. The commission was limited in duration to two years; at the expiration of which time, Colonel HUMPHREYS, having spent a part of the winter of 1785 in England, returned to America, and immediately visited General Washington, at Mount Vernon. In the year 1786, symptoms of discontent, arising from the arrangements of the government, manifested themselves in regular military preparations for redress or resistance. The period alluded to, is commonly known as "the time of Shay's rebellion." With a view, probably, to aid in suppressing those dangerous movements, Colonel HUMPHREYS returned to his native place, and was, in the autumn of 1786, elected a member of assembly from Derby, in the Connecticut legislature. He was by that legislature appointed to the command of a regiment, raised in compliance "with a requisition of congress, on account of an Indian war;" the real object of the requisition being disguised from motives of policy.

On receiving his commission, Colonel HUMPHREYS fixed upon Hartford, as his head quarters and recruiting rendezvous. He there had an opportunity of renewing his intimacy with his early literary associates, Trumbull and Barlow, and, in connection with them and Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, an accomplished poet and satirist, was engaged in writing the *Anarchiad.* It consisted of a series of poetical essays, characterized by the brilliancy, sentiment, and wit, which such a union of talents could not fail to give.

The time of Colonel HUMPHREYS' active employment in his new department of military duty, was of short duration. He continued, however, in command, until the suppression of the insurrection in 1787.

In the year 1788, he again went by invitation to Mount Vernon, and while there wrote his "Life of General Putnam," and several poetical pieces. From the dates of the prologue and epilogue to the tragedy, entitled "The Widow of Malabar," translated by him from the French, it is presumed, that these compositions engaged his leisure hours at that time.

In the year 1789, he was appointed by congress as one of a board of commissioners, to treat with the southern Indians. His associates were Cyrus Griffin, afterwards judge of the United States' court for the district of Virginia, and General Benjamin Lincoln. The commission was closed in the same year.

In the year 1790, Colonel HUMPHREYS was appointed minister to the court of Portugal, and was resident there, as a diplomatic representative of his country, until the year 1797, when he took leave of that court, having been transferred to the court of Madrid, where he continued until the year 1802.

At that time, Thomas Pinckney, minister to England, was transferred to the court of Spain, and Colonel HUMPHREYS took leave, and returned to the United States.

During his residence in Portugal, he was authorized by special powers to open negotiations with several of the Barbary states, with a view, as well to obtain the liberation of many American citizens, held in captivity, as to secure our commerce by treaties from further spoliations; the act authorizing him to appoint agents. In furtherance of his duties, Colonel HUMPHREYS (who had made a short visit to the United States in the early part of the year 1795, in order to render full personal representations on the subject of Barbary aggressions,) returned to Europe in April, 1795, accompanied by Joseph Donaldson, consul for Tunis and Tripoli; who was to be employed to negotiate the treaty, while Colonel HUMPHREYS himself went to France, to obtain the aid of the French government.

In aid of Mr. Donaldson, Joel Barlow, then residing in France, was appointed to act in the negotiation. Through the agency of Mr. Barlow and Mr. Donaldson, treaties were subsequently formed with Algiers and Tripoli, and "approved and concluded" by Colonel HUMPHREYS.

Several of the most important of Colonel HUMPHREYS' diplomatic communications, have recently been presented to the public. They are considered by enlightened statesmen as being creditable to him, both as a national jurist and a correct and lucid negotiator.

During his residence in Europe, Colonel HUMPHREYS corresponded with his friend Dwight, in poetical epistles, and wrote several of his best compositions in verse. On taking leave of the court of Lisbon, he addressed a sonnet "To the Prince of Brazil," which was "translated into Portuguese verse," by "the Marshal General and Commander-in-chief, Duke de Alafoens." His correspondence with General Washington was of the most friendly and confiding character, and Washington expressed a strong desire, that he would, after his return from Europe, make Mount Vernon his permanent residence, as the companion of his declining years. During his residence abroad, Colonel Humphreys married, in the year 1797, in Lisbon, a daughter of John Bulkley, an English resident merchant, of great wealth.

While minister at the court of Spain, he received the afflicting intelligence of the death of his venerated chief and friend. He wrote on that occasion a letter of condolence to Mrs. Washington, remarkably beautiful in expression and delicacy of feeling, and subsequently, on the 4th July, 1800, pronounced a poetic eulogium on the character of General Washington, at the house of the American legation in Madrid; which was forwarded to Mrs. Washington, with a dedicatory letter.

Previous to his departure from Spain, he purchased a flock of one hundred sheep, of the best selected *merino breed*, and forwarded them to the United States, from Lisbon. It was was an important and valuable accession to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of his country; and the allusion to the golden fleece of Jason, inscribed on his monument, is not less correct than beautiful. Colonel Humphreys also contributed to agricultural interests, by the introduction of Arabian horses, and good varieties of English cattle. His important services were justly appreciated by enlightened citizens, and in December, 1802, "the Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture," transmitted to him a gold medal, with appropriate devices, and a complimentary inscription.

From the year 1802, until 1812, Colonel Humphreys devoted his time, almost exclusively, to agricultural and manufacturing pursuits. He erected, in that part of his native town, Derby, now known as the incorporated village of *Humphreysville*, (a name conferred in compliment to its founder) one of the earliest, and then the most extensive wool, cotton, and paper manufactories in the country. It is still in active and successful operation.

He did not resume his station as an actor in public life, until the year 1812. Among the revolutionary men who were then called from their retirement to mingle again in the strife of nations, Colonel Humphreys was found ready to obey the summons; and to render his aid in sustaining his country, during the perilous trials of a second war with England. In the years 1812, '13 and '14, he was a representative in the legislature, from the town of Derby, and bore an active part, in organizing the state troops for the purposes of local defence.

In the year 1812, he took command of a corps of state troops, composed of "volunteers exempt by law from military duty." The corps was raised under an act passed in the August session of 1812, and

Colonel Humphreys was then commissioned as the special commander, with the rank of brigadier-general.

His public services terminated with the limitation of that appointment.

General Humphreys was, in personal form, of lofty stature and commanding appearance; and, whatever peculiarities may have blended with his manners and address, impressed those who viewed him even as strangers, with the conviction, that he possessed high intellectual as well as physical powers. His early reputation as a scholar; his indulgence in poetic enthusiasm, fostered by youthful associates of kindred feelings; the countenance and support of the ablest officers of the revolution; his free admission to counsels, on whose result an empire's fate depended; and finally his long residence at European courts, were well adapted to affect the mind of a young man with sentiments of self-esteem, that gave to his manners the appearance, perhaps, of vanity and ostentation. He was fond of dress and equipage; and, although his sentiments and public conduct were such as to prove his devoted attachment to republicanism, yet, like John Hancock, he was not insensible to the brilliancy of courtly style. His fondness for display (since it must be acknowledged as a trait in his character) is redeemed by the consideration, that he made, on all occasions, his personal gratifications secondary and obedient to public duty.

During his early career in the army, this characteristic was manifest, and observed even by foreign officers. In an unpublished manuscript letter from General Kosciusko to his friend Pierce, paymaster-general of the northern department, now before the writer, dated 30th July, 1778, in commending his regard to the board of officers, he incidentally notes the qualities of his friend Humphreys, by requesting his correspondent to consult him as a person peculiarly familiar with the rules of military etiquette, if he were at loss as to the mode of complying with his wishes.

Anecdotes have been mentioned, alluding to the same peculiarity during his residence with Washington.

As a *prose writer* he was correct and animated in style, and exhibited less of display than would have been expected from his sanguine temperament. Generally, his writings of that description are graceful, unaffected, and free from redundancy of ornament.

As a *poet*, considering the peculiar circumstances under which he wrote, he is entitled to a respectable rank among the bards of the country. Some of his lighter effusions are marked by a playfulness and vivacity that evince his sensibility to the most sportive and gay attractions of fancy.

After his return from Europe, his occasional literary productions were collected and published in an octavo volume, in 1804. As this work was arranged under his personal direction, it may be presumed to embrace all selections from his compositions before that date, that he wished to note as connected with his character as an author. It is dedicated by him to the Duke de Rochefaucault, who had been his personal and particular friend in France.

Colonel Humphreys, in the first and concluding paragraphs of his dedication, conveys sentiments of independence and patriotic virtue to his titled friend, that the history of his life warrants us in believing to have been as heart-felt as they are correct. They are as follows. In the commencement he says:

"It is consistent with the frankness of a free-born American to say, that your noble blood and immense possessions would be of little consideration with the republicans, whose constitutions of government you have made familiar to your own nation, by translating them into French, if unsupported by your personal merit and amiable accomplishments."

In the conclusion of the dedication, Colonel Humphreys makes this remark: "In presenting for your amusement the trifles which have been occasionally composed at my leisure hours, I assume nothing beyond the negative merit of not having ever written any thing unfavorable to the interests of freedom, humanity, and virtue."

A perusal of his writings, certainly will induce a ready assent to the truth of this observation; and it may be added, that it is more than "negative merit," that ever poetical writings, which are so liable to be tinged by a licentious freedom of expression and thought, should have been composed by a soldier and diplomatist, in his hours of relaxation, without being affected by the contaminating influence of camps and courts.

The principal poetical writings of General Humphreys, embraced in his collection, consist of "An Address to the Armies of the United States," and poems "On the Happiness of America," "On the Future Glory of the United States," "On the Industry of the United States," "On the Love of Country," and "On the Death of General Washington." Besides these patriotic and more elaborate productions, he has preserved many lighter effusions, both of a grave and humorous character, several of which are felicitous as well in expression as in thought.

His prose writings, aside from diplomatic and other official papers, relate almost entirely to such subjects as are connected with patriotism and political economy.

Among these productions, the life of General Putnam, the lion-hearted chief, is the most elaborate. It is a beautiful tribute of a young soldier to his teacher in the art of war; and will always maintain an interesting rank among the literary records of the fathers of the republic. It was dedicated, through their president, Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, to the state society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut, to be preserved in their archives; and is mentioned by the author, as "the first effort in biography that had been made on this continent."

To this essay may be added two orations before the Cincinnati society; "A Memorial to the Legislature," for its incorporation; "Remarks on the War with Tripoli;" "Thoughts on the Necessity of Maintaining a Navy;" "Means of Improving Public Defence," in a letter to Governor Trumbull; "A Dissertation on Merino Sheep," besides numerous minor productions. Many of Colonel Humphreys' writings, in poetry and prose, have passed through numerous editions in Europe and America, and have been favorably noticed by critics in both hemispheres. His friend, the accomplished Marquis de Chastelleux, translated into French without the knowledge of the author, his poetical "Address to the Armies of the United States," and accompanied the publication in Paris with an elegant introductory notice, highly complimentary to his talents and character. It need not be added, that his American friends, Barlow, Dwight, and Trumbull, were ready in offering their testimonials of affection and respect.

He received while in active life the honorary degree of doctor of laws from three American colleges, and was associated, as member or fellow, with numerous literary institutions, both in Europe and America.

The last years of his life were principally spent in New Haven and Boston, and his attention during that time was directed more to personal concerns than public engagements.

He died of an organic affection of the heart at New Haven, on the 21st February, 1818, aged sixty-five years. His remains were interred in the burial-ground of that city, over which has since been erected a plain but lofty and durable granite monument. The epitaph which briefly, and with no exaggerated praise, relates his history, was written by his early and faithful friend, the Hon. John Trumbull.

E. B.

EDWARD PREBLE.

COMMODORE EDWARD PREBLE, one of the most distinguished among American naval commanders, was born August 15th, 1761, in a part of the ancient town of Falmouth, which is now Portland, in Casco Bay, Maine. He was the son of the Hon. Jedidiah Preble, a brigadier-general under the government of Massachusetts Bay, and after the commencement of the revolution a member of the council and senate. He died at the age of 77, in 1783.

EDWARD being designed for a liberal education and a profession, was at a suitable age placed at Dummer academy, in Newbury, then under the care of Mr. Samuel Moody, a celebrated teacher. The young gentleman is understood to have been less engaged here, in the interest of his literary pursuits, than in more active and enterprising employments, but he nevertheless gained, during his stay at school, much valuable information and discipline, the effect of which was plainly discernible, as well in the quality of his conversation, as in the phraseology of his official orders and letters.

PREBLE is said to have discovered, from his childhood, a disposition for athletic and adventurous exercises, and a firm, resolute, and persevering temper. Tradition reports that his preceptor was much impressed with the last-named trait in his character, and that on one occasion at least, he had a remarkable opportunity of testing it. Our young hero, in an encounter with a school-fellow, had given him a blow, which covered his face with blood. The boy presented himself in this plight to Mr. Moody, and announced the guilt of PREBLE. Mr. Moody, who was unfortunately an irritable person, in the heat of his indignation, seized the fire-shovel of the school-room, sprang toward the offender, and aimed a blow at his head, which, however, he took care should just escape on one side of his mark, and fall on the desk. He repeated the movement, bringing down his deadly weapon on the other side, with the utmost violence. PREBLE, meanwhile, never changed his attitude or countenance; but sitting perfectly erect, looked calmly in the face of his assailant. The latter from being pale and quivering with rage, became instantly composed, and, turning away, exclaimed, "That fellow will make a general!"

On leaving school, the young man felt within him so strong a renewal of a predilection he had early entertained for a seafaring life, that his father, though opposed to his choice, thought it unwise to thwart him, and he was put on board a ship. His first voyage was to Europe, in a letter of marque, Captain Friend, near the close of which, as they came upon our coast in severely cold and boisterous weather, PREBLE had an opportunity of manifesting his activity and hardihood to eminent advantage, and he gained himself no little honor.

About the year 1779, he became midshipman in the state ship, Protector, of twenty-six guns, commanded by John Forster Williams. That vessel on her first cruise, engaged off Newfoundland, the letter of marque, Admiral Duff, of thirty-six guns, and so disabled her in a short but bloody action, that she was forced to strike, but blew up a few moments afterwards. On her second cruise, she was captured by a British frigate and sloop of war. The principal officers were taken to England, but PREBLE, by the interest of one of his father's friends, Colonel Tyng, obtained his release at New York and returned home.

He now entered as first lieutenant on board the sloop of war Winthrop, Captain Little, who had been Williams' second in command in the Protector, had scaled the walls of his prison at Plymouth, (England,) and escaping with one other person in a wherry to the coast of France, thence took passage to Boston, and it was upon this station that one of PREBLE's exploits took place, which well exemplified the daring courage and intrepidity natural to the man.

Captain Little had taken the tender of a brig, of force superior to his own, which lay in the waters of the Penobscot, (in Maine.) From the crew he gained such information of the position of the brig, as determined him on an attempt to seize her by surprise. He ran her alongside in the night, having prepared forty men to jump into her, dressed in white frocks, to enable them to distinguish friend from foe; coming close upon her, he was hailed by the enemy, who, as was said, supposed the Winthrop must be her tender, and they cried out, "You will run us aboard!" "Aye!" shouted PREBLE, "I am coming aboard!" and he immediately sprang into the vessel, with fourteen men. The motion of the vessel was so rapid that the rest of the forty, destined for boarding, missed their opportunity.

Little cried out to his lieutenant, "Will you not have more men?" "No!" he answered with great presence of mind, (expecting to be overheard by the enemy, "we have more than we want, we stand in each other's way." Those of the English crew who were on deck, by this time were leaping over the side; and others below from the cabin windows; and they were soon seen swimming for the shore, which was within pistol shot. PREBLE instantly entering the cabin, found the officers either in bed, or just rising; he assured them they were his prisoners, and that resistance, if attempted, would be fatal to them: Supposing themselves mastered by superior numbers, they submitted without the slightest effort to rescue the vessel. The enemy's troops on shore, marched down to the water, and commenced a brisk firing with muskets; and the battery also opened a cannonade, but the latter was too high to take effect, and no damage was done by either. The captors were meantime beating their prize out of the harbor, whence they soon conveyed her to Boston.

PREBLE continued in the Winthrop during the whole of the war, and that vessel is acknowledged to have rendered eminent service in protecting our trade near the shores, and picking up a great number of the small privateers which issued from the British ports to the eastward. After the close of the war, when our flag began to be extensively known in foreign seas, he was a ship master, in successive voyages, for a number of years.

In 1798, our relations with France called the attention of government to the state of our navy, if navy it deserved to be called; and during that and the ensuing year, fifteen frigates, and about twelve other vessels of war, were built and commissioned. PREBLE was one of the five first-lieutenants first appointed. In the winter of 1798-9, he made two cruises as commandant of the brig Pickering, and the next year, with a captain's commission, he received command of the frigate Essex, of thirty-six guns. In January, 1800, he made a voyage in this vessel to Batavia, in company with the frigate Congress, to convoy our homeward bound ships. The Congress was dismasted, and put back. PREBLE proceeded alone, and in June he took under convoy fourteen sail of merchantmen, valued at several millions of dollars. Afterwards he was appointed to the command of the Adams, for the Mediterranean, but his health, which now began to fail, compelled him to leave the profession until 1803, when he commenced a career in our operations against the Algerine pirates, which not only redounded much to his own credit, but exalted the character of the American navy in the eyes of all nations. On this occasion he commanded the Constitution frigate, and had under him also the frigate Philadelphia, and several smaller vessels. The satisfactory negotiations concluded by him with the emperor of Morocco, and the details of the memorable bombardment of Tripoli, till Preble was relieved by the arrival of his senior, Commodore Barron, are familiar to all readers of our history. The value of his services was recognised by a vote of congress, conferring upon him the thanks of the nation, and an elegant medal, which were both presented by the president, with the most emphatic expressions of esteem. The officers of his whole squadron, also, on his leaving them, had joined in a highly gratifying address. Peace was concluded with Tripoli the next year.

In the latter part of 1806, the commodore's health began again to fail under his old complaint, a debility of the digestive organs. He struggled with it for some months, indulging a hope of recovery till within ten days of his death, which took place on the 25th of August, 1807, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He regarded the approach of that event with the fortitude which became his character, and his exit was in full correspondence with his life.

The inhabitants of Portland united in every mark of respect to his remains. On the day of his funeral business was suspended, and the colors displayed at half-mast in the harbor, and he was interred with military honors. On the intelligence of his decease reaching Washington, the event was commemorated with the testimonies due to the memory of a patriot hero.

The private character of Commodore Preble was eminently attractive. In authority, indeed, he was rigid, and perhaps sometimes failed in restraining the native impetuosity of his temper; but in domestic life he was placid, affectionate, patient of labor, social, and in business of all sorts remarkable for exactness and despatch. He had been married several years, and left a wife and one son to mourn his loss and inherit the legacy of his fame.

B. B. T.

OLIVER H. PERRY.

THE success of our naval warfare with England in the revolutionary struggle, and in the war of 1812, has given a greater impulse to the patriotic feelings of our nation than a hundred battles on land would have produced, however victorious they might have been. In justice to this feeling, and to keep it alive, the general history of our navy should be familiar to every one in the nation.

There are many of our naval heroes who deserve much from their countrymen, and who should be grouped in our history, as well as separated for distinction in our biography. From among these we have selected, for this number of our work, a name dear to all who have at heart their country's honor.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY was born at Newport in August, 1785. He was early destined for the navy by his father, then in the service of the United States. He was entered a midshipman on board of the sloop of war General Greene, in 1798; a period of general excitement on account of our commercial difficulties with France.

He was too young at that time to gain any other laurels than those which are won from friends by polite observances of gentlemanly courtesy and strict probity. These are truly earnests of future fame, and should be prized as things of promise as well as of present value.

Midshipman PERRY was in the Tripolitan war, and secured the affection and respect of all the officers and men in the squadron. By seizing every opportunity to gain information, and showing to all that he was desirous of being instructed, and ready on any occasion to instruct, he became, very early in life, an accomplished navigator and seaman.

In 1810, he was a lieutenant commandant in the schooner Revenge, a vessel attached to the squadron under Commodore Rodgers at New London, and employed in Long Island Sound to prevent infractions of the embargo laws. In this vessel, in the spring of 1811, he was wrecked in a fog near Stonington. He demanded a court of inquiry on his conduct. The court acquitted him of all blame, and reported that it was owing to his coolness and intrepidity that the guns and other property, with the crew of the Revenge, were saved. Such a misfortune often tries an officer's character more than several ordinary battles.

The nation not only responded to the report of the court of inquiry, but Mr. Secretary Hamilton wrote Lieutenant PERRY a very complimentary letter on his admirable conduct under the calamity. It is seldom that an officer gains by his misfortunes, but this was distinctly the case with PERRY.

This time of peace and restrictive system was trying to our naval commanders; they hated to be made spies upon smugglers, and overseers of little matters; and many of them resigned their commissions.

In 1812, Lieutenant PERRY was promoted to the rank of master and commander, and appointed to the command of the gunboats in the harbor of New York; but he was soon disgusted with this service, for it was dull and inactive, and did not afford any chance of gaining distinction, or of improvement in naval tactics. Every sailor under his command imbibed the same impressions; and when, at his solicitations, he was ordered to Lake Ontario to reinforce Commodore Chauncey, his men volunteered to go with him. On his arrival at Sackett's Harbor, Commodore Chauncey ordered PERRY to Lake Erie to superintend the building of vessels, in order to meet the force the British had on those waters. He commenced his labors with extraordinary zeal, and gave animation to every heart and hand engaged in increasing the naval power on Lake Erie. On the 4th of August he got his squadron over the bar, and swept into the deep waters of the lake. The enemy did not molest him while in this unpleasant situation, although they were daily watching his movements. He sailed in pursuit of the squadron, but soon returned, not being able to meet them. Being reinforced by a considerable number of men, on the 12th he sailed again; on the 15th he arrived at Sandusky; then cruised about Malden, and offered battle to the enemy's fleet at anchor under the guns of the fort, but the challenge was not accepted.

On the 10th of September the American squadron were lying at Put-in-Bay; at sunrise the British squadron were discovered by PERRY, making towards him. PERRY's force was two twenty-gun brigs, and several small vessels, carrying in all fifty-four guns, and manned with about six hundred persons; sailors, landsmen, and boys. The British force was superior in men and metal, being six vessels, carrying sixty-three guns. At eleven o'clock, A. M., the British were formed in line of battle; but the wind now changing, PERRY had an opportunity to bear down upon them as he chose. The commodore, in the Lawrence, led. From her mast head was displayed the last words of the gallant Captain Lawrence, who fell in the action between the Chesapeake and Shannon: "Don't give up the ship." At a few minutes past twelve, the British commenced firing, and some damage was done to the Lawrence before PERRY could make his short guns bear upon the enemy. At length he opened his battery, and stood the fire of the enemy's force for two hours. The other part of his own fleet did not come to his assistance. The Lawrence was become unmanageable; her decks were strewed with the dead; her guns were dismounted. At this moment PERRY conceived a bold and most admirable design. It was no sooner conceived than it was put in execution. Giving the command of the Lawrence to Lieutenant Yarnell, he took his flag under his arm, jumped into his boat, and amidst a shower of shot made his way to the Niagara, the second ship of his squadron. He went off from the Lawrence standing up in his boat; but the seamen, seeing how much he was exposed, seized him with affectionate violence, and pulled him down to a seat. His flag was now seen flying from the mast head of the Niagara, comparatively a fresh ship. This was a moment full of peril. The youthful hero was as calm as adventurous. He brought his ship in a position to break the enemy's line of battle. He gave two ships a raking fire with his starboard guns, poured a broadside into a schooner from his larboard tier, and lay his ship alongside of the British commodore. The effect of his fire was terrific, and the enemy's battery was silenced in a very short time. The small American vessels were soon brought up, and the contest decided, which had now lasted for nearly three hours. The enemy was not only entirely subdued, but all his vessels were taken, and brought to the American side of the lake. Never did a warrior fight with a braver or more skilful foe. Commodore Barclay, who commanded the British squadron on that day, was a man of no ordinary fame. He had gained laurels at the battle of Trafalgar, and other sea-fights, where Englishmen had bled and won the victory; but this day his experience did not avail him—he was forced to yield. The loss was great on both sides, but much more severe on the part of the British. They had two hundred killed and wounded; the Americans about one hundred and twenty-three.

Commodore Barclay was severely wounded, having lost his remaining hand in the fight; the other had been shot off in some previous battle.

In this fight PERRY'S conduct was marked with skill, bravery, and perseverance. He omitted nothing, did every thing he should have done, and no more. He was as humane as brave, and as modest as humane. He took special care of the wounded of the enemy, as well as of his own gallant crews, and did all that could have been done to assuage the wounds of person and of feeling of Commodore Barclay, while he was a prisoner in his power.

The effects of his victory were felt in every part of the country. It silenced those who had clamored against the war, and who, among other things, had ventured to prognosticate that our officers could not manage a fleet, however well they might fight a single ship. Those who had opposed the war now united with the friends of it in wreathing garlands for our victorious seamen. The whole story had an epic effect, national pride was kindled up, and the people in every part of the country celebrated the victory with enthusiasm.

For this action PERRY was made a captain in the navy, and received the thanks of congress, and other marks of distinction, particularly from several of the state legislatures; but he did not repose upon his laurels, or rest satisfied with what he had done. Finding no more hostile fleets to subdue, he offered himself as an aid to General Harrison, then in pursuit of the enemy, and participated with that gallant officer in his dangers and honors at the battle of Moravian Town, on the 5th of October following his own victory.

The president of the United States, in his message to congress, speaks of the conduct of Captain PERRY in the highest terms of praise, as reflecting honor on this nation; and Mr. Madison was never given to flattery.

At the time of the invasion of Virginia and Maryland by the British under General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, Captain PERRY had a command on the Potomac, but not in sufficient force to do any thing effective. Washington was taken, but no naval officer suffered any diminution of his fame from this act; the fault must rest among others if there was any fault in the affair.

At the conclusion of the war Captain PERRY was appointed to the command of the Java, a frigate of the first class, and sailed with Commodore Decatur to chastise the Dey of Algiers, who had, during our difficulties with Great Britain, thought it a favorable time to plunder our commerce. Decatur reached the Mediterranean in June, 1815, and in a few days captured an Algerine frigate, under the command of Admiral Reis Hammida, who had been styled "*The Terror of the Seas.*" Decatur then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, and speedily adjusted matters with those powers, who had likewise thought it a favorable time to make unjust demands of our government.

After PERRY had returned to the United States from the Mediterranean, and while the Java was lying at Newport in midwinter, information was received by him that a merchant vessel was on a reef, about five or six miles from that place, and that the crew were still on the wreck, at the mercy of the winds and waves. He manned his barge, and said to his rowers, "Come, my boys, we are going to the relief of shipwrecked seamen; pull away." They returned him a look of fearless determination, which seemed to say, where you go we go. The vessel had gone to pieces, but eleven men were on her quarter deck, which had separated from the hull of the vessel, and was floating as a raft on the billows. This act may not be thought to belong to the class of heroic deeds by some, who are attracted only by the blaze of military glory; but the great mass of his countrymen declared that he was as deserving of the civic as of the naval crown.

Such a man as PERRY could not be idle; and in 1819 he was sent in the John Adams to the West India station, with sealed orders. He had the command of the squadron on that station. It was a command of importance, for pirates had swarmed in that vicinity, and not only vexed our commerce, but had committed murders of the most horrid character. The utmost vigilance and energy were necessary, but he was not long to be the guardian of those seas. The yellow fever was in the squadron, and of this disease he died on the 23d of August, 1820, just as his ship was entering a port in Trinidad. Thus perished, in the prime of life, and in the midst of usefulness, one of the most gallant officers of this or any other country. He was buried on the 24th, with military honors.

When his death was made known in the United States, every tribute of national grief was paid to his memory. The congress of the United States made a liberal provision for his family, including his mother, who was leaning on him for support. A republic is now and then grateful.

Commodore PERRY had early in life married a daughter of Doctor Mason, of Newport, and was happy in his domestic ties. He was a man of splendid talents, of great tact in his profession, and every way fitted for a great naval commander. His intrepidity was at the same time constitutional and acquired. He had in his youth contemplated the beau-ideal of a naval hero—a model of his own creation—whose elements were formed from all the great commanders, from Themistocles to Nelson; and if the Fates were kind, he intended to emulate him; and this before he had heard the whistling of a ball, or seen one drop of blood shed by contending with a foe.

In his whole course of life he had measured means in relation to ends. He never ventured upon any thing that was not feasible, and of course seldom acted without success. His mind was prolific, but well balanced. He never was swayed from his purpose, or "frightened from his propriety;" but in all the business of his profession conducted with a wisdom and gravity beyond his years. His letters prove that he could write with taste and spirit, and had a sense of honor worthy his station in our republic. He was said to have imitated Nelson; but every great man is like some distinguished predecessor. There is a similarity in mighty minds, whenever or wherever they appear.

In person, Commodore Perry was of the warrior cast, tall and well proportioned; yet not so colossal as to destroy a fine symmetry of limbs, and graceful movement of body. The expression of his face was manly and intellectual, with a greater proportion of refinement than is often found in the countenances of sea-faring men.

The remains of Commodore Perry have been brought to his native country, and buried in Newport. The legislature of Rhode Island appropriated a sum of money to erect a monument to his memory, and this has been done. From a connection of the deceased a memoir has long been expected. This has not made its appearance; but we do not despair of seeing it, for a land of heroes cannot be wanting in masters of the pen.

JACOB BROWN.

MAJOR-GENERAL JACOB BROWN was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1775. His first ancestor in America, George Brown, was an emigrant from England before the establishment of William Penn, on the Delaware river, and was well known as a man of vigorous and cultivated intellect. His children and grandchildren partook of his character, and several of them were for many successive years, prominent members of the provincial government of Pennsylvania. Samuel Brown, the father of the subject of this memoir, and the fourth in the line of descent from George, was a man of high character and strong mental endowments. He was the third of the family who had professed the principles of quakerism, and was a frank, liberal, and enlightened man. His father left him in possession of a valuable, flourishing, and unincumbered estate; but with the hope of making it still more valuable, he imprudently embarked in some commercial enterprises which proved unfortunate, and his property was totally sacrificed.

JACOB BROWN was at this time about sixteen years of age; and it was remarked that his father's pecuniary misfortunes wrought an instantaneous change in his character and conduct. In a spirit of manly resolution, superior to his years, he formed the determination of retrieving the fortunes of his family, and from that moment he devoted himself assiduously to the task. To this object are to be traced his succeeding exertions in preparing himself for the practical business of life; and in these exertions, perhaps, were laid the foundations of that distinguished reputation, which he has transmitted to his descendants. From the age of eighteen to twenty-one, he was entrusted with the management of a large and respectable school at Crosswicks, New Jersey; and during this period of time, his efforts to improve his mind were laborious and unremitted. During the two next years he was employed in that section of the country which now constitutes the state of Ohio, in surveying and laying out public lands.

Soon after his return in 1798, he removed to the city of New York, and was again induced, by the solicitation of his friends, to take charge of a school for a few months. But the cultivation of his mind, and the preparation of its powers for future action, were still the principal objects of his exertions; and at that excited period in the political history of the country, an ample theatre for improvement was presented to him in the discussion of the great topics of public interest on which parties were divided. He did not fail to convert the occasion to his use. He took a prominent part in political debates, and the press exhibited frequent essays from his pen, which attracted no inconsiderable share of the public attention. During his residence in New York, he commenced the study of the law, but soon abandoned it as uncongenial with his disposition for active and adventurous pursuits. An opportunity being presented to him to make a purchase of land on the borders of Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, in that part of the state of New York which is now the county of Jefferson, he established himself upon it while it was wholly uncultivated, and built the first human habitation within thirty miles of the lake. Under his direction the new settlement soon became flourishing and extensive; and to the influence, which he subsequently acquired with the legislature of the state in various public situations, which he filled, the county of Jefferson owes much of its early prosperity and wealth. Immediately after effecting some necessary improvements, he removed his parents to his new abode: he established them near him, and to the close of his life he devoted himself to their happiness and comfort.

The active and enterprising spirit, by which General BROWN was distinguished in his youth, was chastised by repeated discouragements. But his energy never for a moment forsook him; his first and last acts bear the same impression of fearlessness and resolution. His early life was a scene of constant trial. He was thrown, when a mere youth, upon his own resources; and his powers were tasked to the utmost in providing simultaneously for his education and his subsistence. But every obstacle was overcome by the same firmness and perseverance, which, in the progress of his military career, enabled him to triumph over difficulties far more trying and formidable.

In 1809, he was appointed a colonel in the militia; and in the following year he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

At the declaration of war in 1812, he was selected to defend the eastern frontier of Lake Ontario and the southern shore of the river

St. Lawrence, a line extending from Oswego to Lake St. Francis, and nearly two hundred miles in length. The duty imposed on him was, from the exposed condition of the frontier, highly responsible and delicate; and from the inadequate means at his disposal, it was also both embarrassing and vexatious. It was, however, discharged with his characteristic promptitude and vigor; the vulnerable points were put in the best possible state of defence; and on the 4th of October, he succeeded in repelling an attack made upon him at Ogdensburg, where he had fixed his head quarters, by a British force far superior to his own in numbers. In this affair, the enemy lost several men in killed and wounded, while on his own side, no one sustained the least injury.

The term for which he was called into service having soon afterwards expired, he returned to his civil pursuits at Brownville. But his capacity for war had attracted the attention of the government, and the command of a regiment in the regular army was immediately tendered to him. The offer, however, from a determination on his own part to submit to no sacrifice of rank, was declined.

In the spring of 1813, the regular forces having been almost wholly withdrawn from Sackett's Harbor, to act in the reduction of Little York and Fort George, in Upper Canada, a demonstration against that post was made by a British force from Kingston, under the command of Sir George Prevost, and Sir James Yeo. Colonel Backus of the dragoons, who had been left at Sackett's Harbor with about four hundred regular troops, having been but a few days on the frontier, and being unacquainted with its localities, immediately despatched a message to General Brown, who resided within eight miles of the post, requesting him, in a noble spirit of disinterestedness, to come and take the command, and to bring with him as large a body of the militia, as he could assemble. To this request, alike honorable to both parties, an immediate assent was given. Colonel Backus was promptly reinforced by several hundred men of General Brown's brigade, and their united forces were disposed by the general with admirable skill and judgment. The attack of the enemy was fierce, and for a time successful; but after a series of skilful and spirited movements on the part of General Brown, and a most gallant and resolute resistance by the regular troops, the British forces were completely vanquished, and retreated precipitately to their boats. The British loss was about four hundred and fifty, while that of the American force was only one hundred and fifty-six. Among the slain was the brave and chivalrous Backus, who fell, animating the courage of his men by gallant exhibitions of his own.

General **Brown** again retired to his rural abode and occupations, and in the month of August ensuing, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the regular army. He descended the St. Lawrence in the fall of the same year, on the expedition against Montreal, which was frustrated by a want of concert and coöperation between the commanding generals of the two divisions of the northern army.

Early in 1814, General **Brown** was promoted to the rank of major-general, and was placed in command of the northern division of the army at French Mills. The military reputation of the country was at this period exceedingly depressed. The principal enterprises, in which our forces were embarked during the latter part of the year 1813, had proved abortive; and a strong feeling of disappointment had taken possession of the public mind—a feeling rendered more acute by the confident hopes, with which they had been undertaken. The officers of the army were deeply chagrined, both on account of the ill success attending the expeditions referred to, and the unfavorable impression which prevailed with regard to their military capacity. General **Brown** labored during the winter, to inspire his subordinates with a resolution to retrieve the reputation of the army; he had the good fortune to gain their confidence, and, with the aid of many spirited and efficient coadjutors, he succeeded not only in renewing the spirit of the northern army, but in uniting to it that mechanical discipline, which was indispensable to give it effect. To these exertions are to be ascribed the brilliant triumphs, which he subsequently achieved.

In the spring of 1814, he marched his division from French Mills to Sackett's Harbor, and thence to Buffalo, and after executing a few necessary preparations, he crossed the Niagara river and carried Fort Erie, which surrendered without any resistance.

On the 5th of July, General **Brown** fought the battle of Chippewa, the first in that series of distinguished successes, which have so eminently contributed to exalt our military character. The British forces had made a rapid advance from the Chippewa with the hope of finding the American commander unprepared for their reception, and were hardly formed in line, when General Scott was ordered to make an attack with the first brigade. The combat was maintained with great gallantry on both sides in the open field, where victory must necessarily turn on superior bravery or skill. After a brief, but sanguinary conflict, and before the second brigade under General

Ripley could be brought into the field, the whole British force was routed, and retired precipitately under cover of their works on the Chippewa creek, which alone secured them from total destruction.

On the evening of the 25th of July, the two armies again met at Niagara, in the immediate vicinity of the falls. General Brown had sent forward General Scott with his brigade to divert the enemy from the design of crossing to the opposite side of the strait, for the purpose of seizing upon the depot of the American army, and thus cutting off their supplies of munitions and subsistence. The moment General Scott came in sight of the enemy, he made an attack, and despatched intelligence to General Brown, who was in a few minutes on the field, followed by General Ripley's brigade. The combat now became obstinate and bloody beyond all parallel. It was fought like the battle of Chippewa, in the open field, but with advantages on the part of the enemy, against which nothing but superior courage and skilfulness in evolution could have prevailed. Here, as at Chippewa, the American army was completely victorious. The enemy had chosen his own ground; he was attacked in a commanding position, which he had occupied with superior numbers, and which was sheltered by a height elevated above the surrounding country, and garnished with artillery. From this position he was driven at the point of the bayonet, his cannon captured, and his forces completely put to rout. After this discomfiture, he was reinforced by fresh troops from Fort George and Queenston, and made three unsuccessful attempts to regain possession of the height by charging the American line. The two last charges were among the most desperate in the annals of warfare. They were decided entirely by the bayonet, and the result is the best evidence of the firmness and spirit, which animated the contending parties.

The skill evinced by General Brown in meeting all the fluctuations of the battle with such movements as were necessary to counteract the advantages of his opponents, and to give effect to his own; the coolness, with which he executed his plans; and the spirit of self-devotion, in which he maintained his position at the head of his troops until the victory was complete, although he had received two severe wounds, and was so much exhausted by the loss of blood, that he was supported on his horse by the members of his military family; have given him a high and enviable rank in the military history of his country.

It was not until the 2d of September that he was sufficiently recovered from his wounds to resume the command of the army. It was then enclosed within the walls of Fort Erie, environed by superior numbers, worn down by a long and harrassing siege, destitute of necessaries as well as comforts, deficient in munitions of war, and abandoned, as it were, to its own efforts. The enemy's force amounted nearly to four thousand men, while the American army did not exceed half that number. With this inferior force, enfeebled by laborious service, General Brown, after having executed all his preparations with profound secresy, made a sortie on the 17th September, at midday, drove the besiegers from their entrenchments, and either destroyed or rendered their works totally unserviceable. The loss of the enemy was one thousand, and that of the American army five hundred. On the 21st, the enemy abandoned his position, and retired beyond the Chippewa. Thus was executed one of the most brilliant achievements of the war, and it may be said to have crowned the other successes on the Niagara frontier, in which there had been a successive display of firmness, intrepidity and persevering resolution, with an instance of boldness as spirited as any to be found on the records of modern warfare.

General Brown was eminently qualified to excel in the military profession. With a constitutional insensibility to fear, he united a moral courage, which was equally proof against surprise or intimidation. Responsibility he never feared; he was always ready to meet any emergency however remotely connected with the discharge of his duty to his country, or to himself; nor could any obstacle, however formidable, deter him from the execution of his objects. Indeed, it was on the most trying occasions, that he appeared to the best advantage; when dangers were greatest, his coolness and resolution were most conspicuous. With all the energy and vigor which distinguished his plans, they were never rash or imprudent; he never embarked in an enterprise without fortifying it with such means of achievement, as might, with skilful management and unshaken firmness, be safely relied on, as adequate to the execution of his object.

It is worthy of remark, that General Brown never failed in any enterprise which he conducted himself, or which he caused to be executed under the direction of others. Every partisan movement undertaken by his orders, by officers chosen by himself, was successful. He was, in truth, not less remarkable for the sagacity with which he selected the individuals best calculated for the particular service to be performed, than for the promptness with which he always resolved on the right course of action in different emergencies.

The vigor which he infused into his offensive movements, was altogether unlooked for by the British generals on the Niagara. The operations of the American army had in general been vacillating and dilatory; and the effect of General Brown's movements was, for this reason, the more decisive. The firmness with which the British forces were encountered on the open field of battle, was also wholly unexpected. It had been vauntingly said that the "British bayonet was irresistible;" but on the Niagara, man was opposed to man, and the tide of victory was more than once turned against the British forces by the very weapon to which they appealed as the test of their invincibility.

At the close of the war, General Brown was retained in the command of the northern division of the army, and after the reduction of the peace establishment in 1821, he became commander-in-chief. From that time he resided in the city of Washington until the 24th February, 1828, when he fell a victim to an attack brought on by a disease which he contracted at Fort Erie, and from the effects of which he was never exempt until it terminated his life.

In person, General Brown was tall, erect, and commanding; his countenance was animated and full of intelligence; and it was not difficult to trace in its strong and decided expression, that energy of character, which he has so deeply impressed on the actions of his life.

The impression made upon the public mind by General Brown's decease, while yet in the full vigor of manhood, was deep and universal; an impression corresponding with his high character, and unsullied fame. The estimation in which he was held by those with whom he was most immediately connected by official relations, will be best illustrated by the following general order, issued by the direction of the president of the United States on the occasion of his decease.

"DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
February 28*th*, 1828.

ORDERS.

"The secretary of war, by direction of the president of the United States, announces to the army the painful intelligence of the decease (the 24th of February) of Major-General Brown.

"To say that he was one of the men who have rendered most important services to his country, would fall far short of the tribute due to his character. Uniting with the most unaffected simplicity, the highest degree of personal valor, and of intellectual energy, he stands preëminent before the world, and for after ages, in that band of heroic spirits, who, upon the ocean and the land, formed and sustained, during the second war with Great Britain, the martial reputation of their country. To this high and honorable purpose, General Brown may be truly said to have sacrificed his life; for the disease which abridged his days, and has terminated his career at a period scarcely beyond the meridian of manhood, undoubtedly originated in the hardships of his campaigns on the Canada frontier, and in that glorious wound, which, though desperate, could not remove him from the field of battle, till it was won.

"Quick to perceive, sagacious to anticipate, prompt to decide, and daring in execution, he was born with the qualities which constitute a great commander. His military coup d'œuil, his intuitive penetration, his knowledge of men, and his capacity to control them, were known to all his companions in arms, and commanded their respect, while the gentleness of his disposition, the courtesy of his deportment, his scrupulous regard to their rights, his constant attention to their wants, and his affectionate attachment to their persons, universally won their hearts, and bound them to him as a father.

"Calm and collected in the presence of the enemy, he was, withal, tender of human life; in the hour of battle, more sparing of the blood of the soldier than his own. In the hour of victory, the vanquished enemy found in him a humane and compassionate friend; not one drop of blood, shed in wantonness or cruelty, sullies the purity of his fame. Defeat he was never called to endure; but in the crisis of difficulty and danger, he displayed untiring patience and fortitude, not to be overcome.

"Such was the great and accomplished captain whose loss the army has now, in common with their fellow citizens of all classes, to deplore. While indulging the kindly impulses of nature, and yielding the tribute of a tear upon his grave, let it not be permitted to close upon his bright example, as it must upon his mortal remains. Let him be more nobly sepulchred in the hearts of his fellow soldiers, and his imperishable monument be found in their endeavors to emulate his virtues.

"The officers of the army will wear the badge of mourning for six months on the left arm, and hilt of the sword. Guns will be fired at each military post, at intervals of thirty minutes from the rising to the setting of the sun, on the day succeeding the arrival of this order, during which, the national flag will be suspended at half mast."

J. A. D.

DE WITT CLINTON.

THE life of DE WITT CLINTON is contained in the political history of his state and nation. Like all public men, he had violent enemies and attached friends; and though the voice of censure has been hushed in the burst of lamentation that followed his hearse, it must be supposed that there are some, who are unwilling to grant all that is asked by partiality for his private character and public conduct. The consciousness of this diversity renders the performance of the present sketch a delicate task. We shall endeavor so to execute it, as to render it an acceptable offering, not to party, but to truth.

Mr. CLINTON's family was of English origin. His paternal ancestor became an officer on the royal side during the civil wars, and, at their termination, left his native soil as an exile. Having spent some years on the continent, he finally settled in Ireland.

One of his descendants, the grandfather of DE WITT CLINTON, emigrated to this country in 1729. He arrived at Cape Cod, and remained in its vicinity until 1731; when, with his wife and children, he removed to that part of Ulster county, in the state of New York, which is now called Orange county.

Two of the children of this gentleman rose to eminence during the war of the revolution. George Clinton had the honor of being selected by his fellow citizens as the first governor of the state of New York. Popular, energetic, and practical, he proved eminently qualified for his arduous station, nor were his services forgotten in after times. He was repeatedly reëlected to that office, and finally died vice president of the United States.

The other son was James Clinton. He early acquired a fondness for military life, and served in the memorable French war of 1756. At the breaking out of the revolution, he received a colonel's commission in the continental service, and left it at the conclusion of the war, as a major-general.

DE WITT CLINTON was the third son of General James Clinton and Mary De Witt. He was born on the 2d of March, 1769, at the family residence, in Little Britain, Orange county. His early education was conducted at the grammar school of his native town, by the Reverend John Moffat; and he was prepared for college at the academy in Kingston, then under the care of Mr. John Addison. We believe that this gentleman was subsequently a colleague of Mr. Clinton, in the senate of the state of New York.

In 1784, at the conclusion of the war, Mr. Clinton entered the junior class in Columbia college, and continued there until his graduation, in 1786. On this occasion he delivered the Latin salutatory oration, "the exercise always assigned to the best scholar;" and, accordingly, in the printed list of the alumni of the college, his name stands as the first in his class.

The advantages attending a full course of instruction in this venerable institution had undoubtedly their full influence in the formation of Mr. Clinton's character. It is not to be denied that thorough classical instruction (and for that no college in this country is superior to Columbia) strengthens and prepares the mind for all the active professional and political duties of a citizen. This opinion may be sneered at, or it may be attempted to confute it by referring to the examples of Washington and Franklin; but the sciolists who offer such an argument forget that all are not Washingtons and Franklins; that great occasions develop talent of every description;* and that the real question is, what system is best calculated to improve the intellect of the leading portion of the community, under all its variety of talent. If properly conducted—if it be made the vehicle of ideas instead of words—if it be studied with a commentary on the history of ancient republics, and a reference to the character of our own institutions, classical learning must prepare the ingenuous youth to understand his duties and to "act well his part."

The subject of our memoir selected the law as his profession, and commenced its study under the late celebrated counsellor, Samuel Jones. He was admitted to the bar in 1789; but had scarcely commenced practice in the city of New York, before he was appointed private secretary to his uncle, Governor Clinton. He thus early entered on that political career which ended only with his death. It is understood, that during the period of his appointment, which ended, in 1795, with the resignation of the governor, he was much engaged in political discussions; and he undoubtedly thus acquired much of that facility and vigor in composition which always distinguished his writings. We are not aware of any acknowledged production during the above time, except a correspondence, in his official capacity, with several members of congress from the state of New York, relative to the mode of declaring vacancies in the national house of representatives.

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* "When there is nothing great to be done, (says Cousin,) a great man is impossible."

Conjointly with the above office, he held that of secretary to the regents of the university, and to the board of fortifications of New York.

In 1797 he was chosen to the house of assembly from the city of New York, and in 1798 to the senate of the state. While in the latter office, and being a member of the council of appointment, a controversy arose between that body and the governor, (John Jay,) relative to the right of nomination to office. It was claimed by Mr. Jay as his exclusive prerogative—while Mr. CLINTON and his associates asserted their co-ordinate powers. A convention of delegates was called to interpret the language of the constitution on this point, and it decided unfavorably to the opinions of Mr. Jay. Experience, however, has justified the policy of his doctrine, if not its positive conformity to the letter of the constitution. The convention which a few years since remodelled that instrument, struck from its pages every vestige of the council of appointment, and gave to the governor the sole power of nomination, and to the senate that of approval and disapproval.

In 1802 Mr. CLINTON was elected, by the legislature of the state, a senator in congress, in the room of General Armstrong, who had resigned. He continued in that office during two sessions, when he retired, upon being appointed mayor of the city of New York.

In congress he was a supporter of the administration of Mr. Jefferson. The most exciting question that arose during his senatorship, was the proposition of Mr. Ross, of Pennsylvania, to seize New Orleans, then a Spanish possession, with a military force. Spain had given the right by treaty to the citizens of the United States to deposit their goods and produce at that place. She now interdicted it. In the debate that ensued, Mr. CLINTON urged the propriety of previous negotiation, and the importance of delaying so decisive a measure, which indeed was equivalent to a declaration of war.

His speech on this subject was reported; and it may be considered a favorable specimen of the style and logic that characterized his public addresses. All farther discussion was happily concluded, by the subsequent purchase of Louisiana.

He continued in the mayoralty of the city of New York, with the exception of two years, from 1803 to 1815. It was in this situation, undoubtedly, that he developed his matured powers, and appeared before the country in the light of an eminent and enlightened citizen. In his capacity of presiding law officer in the courts of that city, his decisions were highly approved. As the first magistrate, he displayed the energy and decision of character which so strikingly distinguished his after history; while on every proper occasion he appeared as the patron of benevolent and literary enterprise. We shall, however, refer to this last subject hereafter in greater detail, and prefer at present to continue our narrative of his political life.

In conjunction with the mayoralty, he continued, during several terms, to hold a seat in the senate of New York. Although active as a politician, he forgot not his duties as a lawgiver, and originated or supported many measures of public utility. During the sessions of 1809, 1810, and 1811, in the language of one of his biographers, "he introduced laws to prevent kidnapping, or the farther introduction of slaves, and to punish those who should treat them inhumanly —for the support of the quarantine establishment—for the encouragement of missionary societies—for the improvement of the public police—for the prevention and punishment of crime—for perfecting the militia system—for promoting medical science—and for endowing seminaries of education."

In 1811 he was elected lieutenant-governor of the state. It was while holding this office, that he was nominated to the station of president of the United States, in opposition to Mr. Madison. It is sufficient in this place to state, that he was preferred by many because he was a northern candidate; by others, because the war which had now commenced had been fruitful in disasters; and from the character of Mr. Clinton it was hoped, that he would either conduct it vigorously or speedily terminate it. The crisis was an alarming one to our country and its institutions; and the men of the present day can hardly fully appreciate the conduct of parties at that period, when they read its history, embellished as it finally was, by land and naval triumphs. Mr. Clinton divided the nation with Mr. Madison. On the canvass, the latter had one hundred and twenty-eight votes, and the former eighty-nine. He was unsuccessful, and this event exercised for many years a baneful influence on his public and private fortunes.

His native state did not, however, forget him. In 1817 he was chosen governor almost without a contest—was reëlected in 1820, in opposition to Governor Tompkins, then vice president of the United States—retired at the adoption of the new constitution, but was again elected in 1824, and continued to fill the office until his death.

It is an idle fancy now to conjecture to what height he might have risen, had he lived to the present period. But the opinion may be hazarded, that he was the candidate of a plurality of the people of the United States (could the sentiments of that plurality have been concentrated) at the election which elevated Mr. Adams to the presidency. That eminent individual offered him the embassy to London, but he declined the honor; preferring, on many accounts, to continue in the situation to which he had been recently reëlected.

With many of our statesmen, a narrative like that which we have now given may frequently conclude the incidents of their lives. It forms, however, only the frame work of the moral achievements of Mr. CLINTON. It was remarked with great justice by Mr. Butler, (now attorney-general of the United States,) on the morning after his death, "that whilst he pursued with avidity political distinction, he had the wisdom to seek enduring fame, not from the possession of power, or the triumphs of the day, but by identifying himself with the great interests of the community. It was his ambition to be distinguished as the friend of learning and morals, and as the advocate and patron of every measure calculated to promote the welfare or increase the glory of the state."

In connection with various associates, he was among the founders of several literary and scientific institutions in the city of New York. The American Academy of Fine Arts, the New York Historical Society, and the Literary and Philosophical Society, each numbered him among their earliest members; and, at different periods, he held the office of president in all of them. For the Historical Society, he assisted materially in obtaining a liberal donation from the state, and the Literary and Philosophical commenced its labors with an elaborate inaugural discourse from his pen. In the transactions of both, valuable communications were made by him on subjects of civil and natural history.

To the New York Hospital, the Lunatic Asylum connected with it, and the various other charitable institutions of the state and city, he proved an efficient friend; urging their claims on the public consideration and bounty.

Under his auspices, a board of agriculture was incorporated. Like its prototype in England, it served its day amidst reproach and jealousy; yet its effects have been salutary, and not the less so from being slowly acknowledged.

The high rank which Mr. CLINTON held in the masonic fraternity deserves some notice, since he considered that institution worthy of his attention for more than twenty years.

He held the office of Grand Master of masons in the state of New York from 1806 to 1820, when his public engagements not permitting his personal attendance, he resigned. In September, 1825, he installed, in Albany, the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer as Grand Master; on which occasion he delivered an address on the history, objects, and tendencies of the society, from which we give the following extract, as a sufficient explanation of his unfaltering attachment to the fraternity, through good and evil report. "Although the origin of our fraternity is covered with darkness, and its history is to a great extent obscure, yet we can confidently say that it is the most ancient society in the world: and we are equally certain that its principles are based on pure morality; that its ethics are the ethics of Christianity; its doctrines the doctrines of patriotism and brotherly love; and its sentiments the sentiments of exalted benevolence. Upon these points there can be no doubt."

He was General Grand Master of the General Grand Encampment of the United States, from 1816 until his death: he also presided in the Grand Encampment of New York, and some other branches of the institution, for many years.

As the patron and assiduous promoter of education, and particularly the education of the poor, the name of Mr. CLINTON deserves especial mention. He was sagacious enough to perceive that our institutions are frail, unless strengthened by the intelligence and morality of the people. He hailed the Lancasterian system as a mighty engine in diffusing knowledge, and was successful in procuring its introduction into this country. The whole plan of public instruction, extending from infant schools up to our colleges and university, frequently became the subject of animated notice in his messages; nor was he content without reiterating its value, or suggesting improvements in its various parts.

His most brilliant public service remains to be mentioned. As a political leader, he allied himself to the friends of the canal policy, became its champion, and succeeded in completing the magnificent undertaking. We have been thus specific in stating what we conceive to have been his special and peculiar honor, in order to avoid all cavil. He never claimed to have originated the idea. The ghosts of Brindley and the Duke of Bridgewater would have confronted him; but because he did not, is it to be tolerated that an idle traveller, passing along the results of their labors, should usurp it? They were indeed viewed by the eye of genius, and we accordingly find the name of Gouverneur Morris indissolubly connected with that of Mr. Clinton, in the active inception of the project. As early as 1812, they were deputed as commissioners to ask the aid of Congress. They found little sympathy and less support. They returned from their bootless errand, and in their report, used this thrilling language:—"These men console themselves with the hope, that the envied state of New York will continue a supplicant for the favor and a dependant on the generosity of the union, instead of making a dignified and manly appeal to her own power. It remains to be proved, whether they judge justly who judge so meanly of our councils."

Union did not, however, exist in these councils. Opposition was always at hand—magnifying the expense, denying the utility, or doubting the practicability of the undertaking. For several years the contest was uncertain; but at last the effort succeeded, and all difficulties vanished. It is of this period that the editor of the American (Mr. Charles King) speaks in his beautiful obituary notice. "In the great work of internal improvement he persevered through good report and through evil report, with a steadiness of purpose that no obstacle could divert; and when all the elements were in commotion around him, and even his chosen associates were appalled, HE ALONE, LIKE COLUMBUS, on the wide waste of waters, in his frail bark, with a disheartened and unbelieving crew, remained firm, self-poised, and unshaken." "Is it (he adds) extravagant or unjust to say, that, like Columbus, he was recompensed by opening new worlds to our intercourse—vast regions, which the canals of New York must be the means of subduing, civilizing, enriching?"

The burst of exultation that extended from Lake Erie to the ocean, in the autumn of 1825, when the canals were completed, was to Mr. Clinton like the triumph to an ancient worthy. It is given to few men to earn so proud a civic wreath. The madness of party, which subsequently removed him from the office of canal commissioner, served only to render his gratuitous services more conspicuous.

During the last years of his life political hostility was greatly allayed. It seemed to be felt, that the people, without regard to party, desired his elevation; and he sought to reward their partiality by suggesting and promoting whatever might promise to increase their prosperity and happiness. Disease was, however, sapping the foundations of his vigorous constitution. It is highly probable that he labored for some years under an organic affection of the heart or its vessels. Symptoms strikingly characteristic of such a complaint were very manifest during the delivery of his address to the alumni of Columbia college, in May, 1827; and it is understood that he was alarmingly, though but temporarily ill, during the ensuing summer. There is every reason to believe that he was conscious of his situation, and that his mind was in a state becoming such a period. He did not intermit in his public duties, but was, with scarcely an omission, found daily at his chamber in the capitol, during the session of the legislature.

On the day of his death he had attended there as usual, and on his return home had written several letters during the afternoon. At a few minutes after six, on the evening of the 11th of February, 1828, while sitting in his study and conversing with two of his sons, he complained of a stricture across his breast; and almost in a moment thereafter, his head fell forward, and life was extinct.

Such was the fearfully sudden departure of this great man. It was the fortune of the writer of this article to be in Albany at the time; and certainly never was a place in greater agitation, nor a population buried in more profound grief, than when the sad news spread like lightning through its streets. The legislature were not unmindful of their duty to themselves, and the deceased. Whatever of funeral pomp the civil and military authorities, the crowd of citizens, and appropriate emblems of mourning could present, was exhibited in the solemn march to the grave.

Throughout the state, and, indeed, the nation, deep and sincere sorrow was expressed. The representatives of the state at Washington assembled to pay their tribute of respect to his memory. Mr. Van Buren, then a senator, (now vice president,) spoke of him in a manner befitting his station and character. "All other considerations out of view, (he observed,) the single fact that the greatest public improvement of the age in which we live was commenced under the guidance of his councils, and splendidly accomplished under his immediate auspices, is of itself sufficient to fill the ambition of any man, and to give glory to any name. The triumph of his talents and patriotism cannot fail to become monuments of high and enduring fame. We cannot, indeed, but remember, that in our public career collisions of opinion and action, at once extensive, earnest, and enduring, have arisen between the deceased and many of us. For myself, it gives me a deep-felt though melancholy satisfaction to know, and more so to be conscious, that the deceased also felt and acknowledged, that our political differences have been wholly free from that most venomous and corroding of all poisons—personal hatred. But, in other respects, it is now immaterial what was the character of those collisions. They have been turned to nothing, and less than nothing, by the event we deplore; and I doubt not that we will, with one voice and one heart, yield to his memory the well-deserved tribute of our respect for his name, and our warmest gratitude for his great and signal services. For myself, so strong, so sincere, and so engrossing is this feeling, that I, who, whilst living, never, no, never, envied him any thing, now that he has fallen, am greatly tempted to envy him his grave with its honors."

We have but a small space left to speak of the character of Mr. Clinton. Many of its leading traits may be inferred from the preceding narrative. He was bold and decisive in conduct, tenacious of his purpose, and stern to those whom he considered as his enemies. He was not unfrequently charged with haughty or reserved manners; but we apprehend that much of this is to be attributed to a distrust in the success of his public performances. He was, in fact, a diffident man throughout his life; and hence the charm of his conversation, and the lights of his intellect, improved by extensive and varied reading, could only be appreciated (and there how delightfully!) in the private circle. Occasionally it is to be regretted that he indulged in a disposition for ridicule. What he intended should only be harmless mirth, from his situation, and the malevolence of those who retail the conversation of the great, often turned into venom that rankled and stung him.

If he had these faults, he had greater virtues. No one ever enlisted a more numerous or a more devoted body of personal friends. His frankness commanded their respect, his decision their esteem, and his public and patriotic views their admiration.

We have said that he read much. This indeed was one of the most striking traits of his intellectual character; and to it he owed much of his reputation. He disdained to be superficial. He informed himself on all subjects connected with his duties, and, as far as leisure would permit, studied natural history with all the love of a devotee. That he was occasionally incorrect or misinformed, is what must always be expected, whilst our scientific men have to beggar themselves in purchasing those libraries which other governments delight in spreading before their subjects.

Mr. CLINTON improved his style by much practice. Its predominant characters are vigor and clearness. He erred occasionally from indulging in diffuseness, and, in some of his productions, a want of connection may be detected. Many, however, it must be recollected, were written in haste, or for temporary purposes. When "the matter matched his mind," as in some of his messages, and in his addresses to our naval heroes on presenting them with the freedom of the city of New York, his manner often rose to eloquence. If there was any figure in which he delighted, it was antithesis; and his success in it frequently gave double force to the severity of his sarcasm.

As a public speaker, he was somewhat deficient in voice and animation; but he was always listened to with profound attention, from the talent displayed in discussing the important subjects to which he devoted himself.

His form was emphatically that of one of "nature's noblemen." Tall, erect, commanding, with a countenance beaming with intellect, no one could meet him without being struck with his appearance, or conceiving that he bore with him the attributes of greatness.

"In all the private relations of a father and a husband, Mr. CLINTON was most exemplary, amiable, and indulgent."

Such was the individual "who," to use the eloquent language of President Nott, of Union College, "during a life so short, so changeful, and yet, withal, so fortunate, was able, not only to fix some impress of his mind on most of the institutions under which we live, but also to grave the memorial of his being on the bosom of the earth on which we tread, and in lines, too, so bold and so indelible, that they may, and probably will continue legible, to successive generations."

JAMES A. BAYARD.

The work of which the present article forms a part, being in its biographical portion merely auxiliary to the talent of the engraver, requires nothing beyond a mere sketch of the principal incidents of life, especially of such as connect the individual with public affairs; and, although in the present instance, the notice of those incidents would naturally lead to a discussion of many interesting points in the history of the country, and of its political parties, yet the limits and design of the work forbid in relation to them, any thing more than a passing notice.

James A. Bayard was born in the city of Philadelphia, on the 28th July, 1767. He was the second son of Doctor James A. Bayard, a physician of promising talents and increasing reputation, but who died on the 8th January, 1770, at an early period of life.

Doctor Bayard was the brother of Colonel John Bayard, who, during the revolutionary war, was a member of the council of safety and many years speaker of the legislature of Pennsylvania. Their father, whose name was James, married a Miss Ashton. The family were originally of French extraction, but being Huguenots, and dreading that spirit of religious persecution which belonged to the age, they abandoned their native country, and came to North America some time prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

A part of the family settled in the then province of New York, and one of them afterwards selected Cecil county, in the province of Maryland, for his future residence, from whom James Bayard, the grandfather of the subject of our present notice, was descended.

Mr. Bayard having been left an orphan at a very early age, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Colonel John Bayard, in whose family he lived for several years. His education was, in the first instance intrusted to the Rev. Mr. Smith, a respectable clergyman of Lancaster county, with whom he remained some time, but eventually he returned to his uncle's family, and pursued his studies under the direction of a private tutor until his admission into Princeton college.

At that place he spent the usual period allotted to collegiate life, and graduated on the 28th September, 1784, at little more than the age of seventeen years; but from the early development of those talents, and that industry which distinguished him in after life, he succeeded in obtaining the highest honor of the institution.

Upon leaving college, Mr. Bayard returned to Philadelphia, and having selected the profession of the law for his future occupation, he commenced his studies under General Joseph Reed, the former president of Pennsylvania, and after his death, in 1785, resumed and concluded them under the direction of the late Jared Ingersoll, Esq.

Being now prepared to enter upon the busy scene of life, Mr. Bayard resolved to pursue the practice of his profession in the adjoining state of Delaware, and with that view was admitted to the bar at the August term of the court of common pleas for the county of Newcastle, in the year 1787, when he was little more than twenty years of age.

The first years of his professional life he devoted to severe study, during which time he attained that familiar and exact knowledge of the principles of political science, and of general jurisprudence, which in after life were alike serviceable to him at the bar and in congress.

On the 11th February, 1795, he was married to Miss Bassett, the eldest daughter of Richard Bassett, Esq., who was subsequently governor of the state of Delaware.

Shortly after his marriage, Mr. Bayard became actively connected with the dominant party in the state, and in October, 1796, was elected a member of congress, and took his seat in the house of representatives on the 22d of May, 1797, at the first session of the fifth congress, which had been convened by the proclamation of the president, in consequence of the existing difficulties with France.

Immediately upon his appearance in congress, Mr. Bayard became prominent for his zeal, industry, ability, and knowledge; and was at the first session appointed one of the committee to prepare and report articles of impeachment against William Blount, a senator of the United States; being the first instance of a resort to that high constitutional proceeding. In the subsequent session of that congress, he was elected one of the committee to conduct the impeachment on the part of the house, and became chairman of the committee on the appointment of Mr. Sitgreaves, who had originally filled that station, as commissioner under the sixth article of the treaty with Great Britain.

On this occasion a plea to the jurisdiction of the senate, on the ground that a senator is not a civil officer within the meaning of the constitution, having been filed by the counsel of Mr. Blount, who were men of great learning and ability, an opportunity was presented, in the discussion to which it gave rise, for the display of those talents and that knowledge for which Mr. BAYARD was eminent. The senate, however, by a small majority sustained the plea.

The period to which we now refer was one of strong party excitement; and no event was suffered to pass unnoticed by those in the opposition, which it was supposed might bring the administration into disrepute with the people. The case of Thomas Nash *alias* Jonathan Robbins, was one therefore not to be neglected. Thomas Nash, who artfully represented himself to have been an impressed American seaman, had committed piracy and murder on board the British frigate Hermione while at sea, and having been arrested in Charleston on that charge, was demanded by the British minister, under the twenty-seventh article of the treaty with Great Britain, to be delivered up to his government for trial. The president of the United States had advised and requested the district judge of South Carolina, before whom the case was depending, to deliver him up on receiving the evidence of criminality stipulated by the treaty; this was accordingly done, and he was afterward tried by a court martial and executed.

The whole matter was communicated to congress by the president; and Mr. Livingston, on the 20th February, 1800, submitted to the house of representatives two resolutions, condemning the conduct of the president as a "dangerous interference of the executive with judicial decisions," and the compliance of the judge as a "sacrifice of the constitutional independence of the judicial power, exposing it to suspicion and reproach." The discussion which followed called into action the talents of the friends as well as of the opponents of the administration. The propriety of the course pursued by the president was sustained and successfully vindicated by Mr. BAYARD and Chief Justice Marshall, who was then a member of the house from Virginia. Judge Marshall, who followed Mr. BAYARD in the debate, in one of those luminous and irresistible arguments which characterize the vigorous and logical mind of that eminently distinguished man, opened his speech with the following observations: "Believing as he did most seriously, that in a government constituted like that of the United States, much of the public happiness depended, not only on its being rightly administered, but on the measures of the administration being rightly understood; on rescuing public opinion from those numerous prejudices with which so many causes must combine to surround it; he could not but have been highly gratified with the very eloquent, and what was still more valuable, the very able and very correct argument which had been delivered by the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. BAYARD) against the resolutions now under consideration. He had not expected that the effect of this argument would have been universal, but he had cherished the hope, and in this he had not been disappointed, that it would be very extensive. He did not flatter himself with being able to shed much new light on the subject, but as the argument in opposition to the resolutions had been assailed with considerable ability by gentlemen of great talent, he trusted the house would not think the time misapplied which would be devoted to the reëstablishment of the principles contained in that argument, and to the refutation of those advanced in opposition to it." The resolutions were rejected by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-five.

Mr. BAYARD had been reëlected to congress in October, 1798, and was again elected in October, 1800, at a period when the highest party feeling prevailed. The event which we have now occasion to notice, was one which called for the exertion on his part of the greatest discretion, firmness, and magnanimity. At the presidential election which took place in November, 1800, the greatest number and majority of electoral votes which were in favor of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the democratic candidates, being equal, the election devolved upon the house of representatives. The mass of the federal party throughout the country, and most of the federal members of the house, deprecated the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the presidential office, as an event that would be fatal to the federal government, and to the existing constitution. The greatest excitement prevailed, and the two parties viewed each other with feelings of mutual jealousy and distrust. The federalists seriously believed, that it was the design of their opponents, and particularly of Mr. Jefferson as their chief, to abase if not to destroy the federal government. With this belief, and the apprehensions and feelings resulting from it, the federal members of the house of representatives were called upon by that constitution to choose between the two candidates.

The one was known to be decidedly hostile to federal principles and federal men; the other, though belonging to the same party, and standing high in its estimation, as well as in that of his fellow candidate, was yet less distinctly marked by his principles, and believed to be less visionary in his politics. The federal members of the house had several meetings for the purpose of consulting on the subject of the election; among whom there existed many shades of opinion, both as to the possibility of electing Mr. Burr, and as to the expediency of attempting it: they formed the majority of the house, though not of the states. Mr. Huger, of South Carolina, absolutely refused to vote for him; and Mr. Dent, of Maryland, declared his determination to vote for Mr. Jefferson. Among those who acquiesced with most reluctance in the course ultimately adopted, were Mr. BAYARD and Messrs. Baer and Craik, of Maryland. Mr. BAYARD, though he believed Mr. Burr to be personally better qualified for president, thought it vain to make the attempt, but to use his own words, "was chiefly influenced by the current of public sentiment, which he thought it neither safe nor politic to counteract." General Hamilton, than whom no man out of congress enjoyed a larger share of the confidence of the party, or exerted greater influence over its movements, was decidedly opposed to the step, and in a correspondence with Mr. BAYARD earnestly advocated the election of Mr. Jefferson. The majority of the federal members were, however, in favor of Mr. Burr; and many of them would have preferred to defeat the election altogether, rather than choose Mr. Jefferson. Mr. BAYARD, out of deference to the opinion of the majority, agreed to make an attempt to elect Mr. Burr; but with the fixed determination that there should be a president chosen, and that the election should not be protracted beyond a reasonable period.

Messrs. Baer and Craik, of Maryland, and General Morris, of Vermont, entertaining the same views and opinions, concurred with him in this resolution; and they entered into mutual engagements to support each other in that course. It was in the power of any one of these gentlemen to terminate the election at any moment. The balloting in the house commenced on the 11th February, 1801, and terminated on the 17th February, without any adjournment. On the first ballot, it was ascertained that Mr. Jefferson had eight states, Mr. Burr six states, and that two states, Maryland and Vermont, were divided. As there were sixteen states, Mr. Jefferson wanted the vote of one state, which might have been given, either by Mr. BAYARD, who held the vote of the state of Delaware, or by General Morris, who held the divided vote of Vermont, or by either Mr. Baer or Mr. Craik, who held the divided vote of Maryland. These gentlemen, possessing an absolute control over the election, so far as regarded the certainty of making a president and the duration of the contest, authorized Mr. BAYARD to exercise his own discretion as to the precise period it should terminate, and pledged themselves to abide by his decision. Mr. BAYARD then took pains to ascertain what were the probabilities of success; and becoming convinced that it was hopeless, and being resolved not to hazard the constitution and the safety of the union, he determined to put an end to the contest. Previously to this, however, he was induced to believe, from the representation of some of the intimate friends of Mr. Jefferson, that he would observe in his administration those great points of policy which, being intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, the federal party had most at heart.

On the 19th February, 1801, Mr. BAYARD was appointed minister to France by John Adams, whose presidential term did not expire until the 4th of March following. Nothing could under any other circumstances have been more gratifying to his feelings; but from the delicate situation in which he had been placed by the late presidential election, he instantly declined the appointment, and on the same day addressed to the president the following letter:—

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1801.

SIR,—

I beg you to accept my thanks for the honor conferred on me by the nomination as minister to the French Republic. Under most circumstances, I should have been extremely gratified with such an opportunity of rendering myself serviceable to the country; but the delicate situation in which the late presidential election has placed me, forbids my exposing myself to the suspicion of having adopted from impure motives the line of conduct I pursued. Representing the smallest state in the union, without resources which could furnish the means of self-protection, I was compelled by the obligation of a sacred duty so to act, as not to hazard the constitution upon which the political existence of the state depends. The service I should have to render by accepting the appointment, would be under the administration of Mr. Jefferson; and having been in the number of those who withdrew themselves from the opposition to his election, it is impossible for me to take an office, the tenure of which would be at his pleasure. You will therefore pardon me, sir, for begging you to accept my resignation of the appointment.

I have the honor to be,
With perfect consideration,
Your very obedient servant,
JAMES A. BAYARD.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In writing on the 22d February, 1801, three days subsequently, to one who was both a near relation and an intimate friend, Mr. BAYARD says—

"You are right in your conjecture as to the office offered me. I have since been nominated minister to France, concurred in *nem. con.*, commissioned, and resigned. Under proper circumstances, the acceptance would have been complete gratification; but under the existing, I thought the resignation most honorable. To have taken eighteen thousand dollars out of the public treasury with a knowledge that no service could be rendered by me, as the French government would have waited for a man who represented the existing feelings and views of the government, would have been disgraceful. Another consideration of great weight arose from the part I took in the presidential election. As I had given the turn to the election, it was impossible for me to accept an office which would be held on the tenure of Mr. Jefferson's pleasure. My ambition shall never be

gratified at the expense of a suspicion. I shall never lose sight of the motto of the great original of our name."

Among the first acts of those who now came into power, was the repeal of the act passed on the 13th February, 1801, "to provide for the more convenient organization of the courts of the United States," which had divided the United States into six circuits, and provided a system of circuit courts for the administration of justice. The organization of this system, and the appointment of the judges under it towards the close of Mr. Adams' administration, gave particular umbrage to Mr. Jefferson; and as the constitution would not permit the removal of the judges, who held their office during good behaviour, it was determined to cut the Gordian knot, and to get rid of the judges by destroying the system. This measure produced one of the most memorable struggles in the political history of the country. On this occasion, Mr. Bayard, who on the part of the majority was called the Goliah of the adverse party, and sarcastically denominated the high priest of the constitution, made one of his most eloquent and powerful speeches; but party spirit demanded the sacrifice, and it was made.

In November, 1804, Mr. Bayard was elected by the legislature of Delaware a senator of the United States, for the unexpired term of Mr. Wells, who had resigned that office; and in February, 1805, was again elected by the legislature a senator for the ensuing term of six years.

So hasty a sketch as the present will not permit more than a passing notice of prominent events; and we shall here, therefore, simply remark, that while he pursued with great success and reputation, his profession at home, he was alike distinguished in public life for the great ability and zeal with which he largely participated in the transactions of the day.

Certain resolutions introduced in the senate, in the year 1809, by Mr. Giles, gave occasion for the delivery on the part of Mr. Bayard of a very able speech against the embargo system, which had commenced in December, 1807.

It was in June, 1812, that the president communicated to congress his message recommending a declaration of war against Great Britain. On this occasion, Mr. Bayard, who had been reëlected by the legislature of Delaware, in the year 1811, a senator for another period of six years, did not deny that there were sufficient causes for war, but insisted that the measure was premature; that it should be postponed for a few months, to furnish time for the return of our ships and seamen, and of the immense amount of property which was either in the ports of Great Britain or afloat on the ocean, as well as for putting the country in a situation for offensive and defensive operations With this view, he moved, on the 16th June, to postpone the further consideration of the bill declaring war against Great Britain, to the 31st of October. In his speech in support of this motion, he observed that he was greatly influenced in making it, "by the combined considerations of the present defenceless condition of the country, and the protection which Providence has given us against a maritime power in the winter season. During the winter months, you will be protected by the elements. Postpone the war until November, and you will not have to dread an enemy on our coast till April. In the mean time go on with your recruiting, fill up, discipline, and train your army. Take the station, if you please, which will enable you to open an early campaign. Your trade will all have time to return before hostilities commence; and having all your ships and seamen at home, you may be prepared to put forth all your strength upon the ocean, on the opening of the ensuing spring. Shall we by an untimely precipitancy, yielding to a fretful impatience of delay, throw our wealth into the hands of the enemy, and feed that very rapacity which it is our object to subdue or to punish?"

War, however, was declared on the 18th June; and Mr. Bayard, whose heart was truly American, and who never suffered any influence or inferior motive to interfere with his duty to his country, was prompt in advising the adoption of such measures and such line of conduct as its safety and honor demanded. He was the chairman of the committee of safety in the place of his residence, (Wilmington,) and, at the head of his fellow-citizens, was the first to assist with his own hands in the erection of the temporary defences of the town. His prevailing and uniform sentiment was that of devotion to the welfare and honor of his country, which demanded the sacrifice of all minor considerations.

Shortly after the intelligence of this event reached St. Petersburg, the emperor of Russia offered his mediation to both nations, to promote the restoration of peace. The president of the United States determined to accept the offer, without waiting to know whether Great Britain would do so likewise, and, on the 17th April, 1813, appointed Mr. Bayard, together with Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Adams, ministers plenipotentiary, for the purpose of negotiating a peace, with further power, in case of a successful issue, to make a treaty of commerce. This appointment was entirely unexpected on the part of Mr. Bayard, and was accepted by him from an imperious sense of duty to his country, with the hope of rendering her some service, and with the confidence that his acceptance of it could be attended with no mischief. In a letter addressed to the secretary of state, (Mr. Monroe,) on 5th May, 1813, after stating his receipt of the instructions prepared for the mission, and that there was nothing in them of doubtful construction, or which he could not cordially promote, he intimates a doubt whether the chief point of difficulty (the impressment of seamen) was placed on a practicable footing; requiring as they did, a stipulation against impressment, as a *sine quâ non.* The event proved that he was right. On the 9th May, 1813, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin departed from the United States, in the Neptune, on their mission to join Mr. Adams, who was then at St. Petersburg in the capacity of American minister. After a stormy and disagreeable passage, they arrived at St. Petersburg, on the 21st July following, having travelled by land from Revel, where they had disembarked. The emperor was then absent with his army at a distance of more than a thousand miles from his capitol. They were presented to the empress, and received by the chancellor Romanzoff in their official capacity; but they could obtain no satisfactory intelligence as to the intentions of the British government, in relation to the object of their mission. After remaining six months in St. Petersburg, and becoming satisfied that the British government did not mean to accept the mediation, although they could not obtain from count Romanzoff any official acknowledgment of that fact, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin determined to leave Russia, and accordingly departed from St. Petersburg on the 25th January, 1814. They travelled by land through Berlin to Amsterdam, a distance of more than one thousand five hundred miles, and arrived in the latter place on the 4th March following. There they received despatches from the government, apprising them of the fact, that Great Britain had refused the mediation of the emperor of Russia, but had offered to negotiate directly, either at London or at Gottenburg; and that the president having acceded to this proposition, and selected the latter place, they were to repair to that point. On the 18th January, 1814, the president appointed Mr. Bayard, in conjunction with Messrs. Adams, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, ministers plenipotentiary, to negotiate directly with Great Britain. Messrs. Clay and Russell sailed from the United States on the 25th February, and arrived at Gottenburg on the 14th April. At that time, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin were in London, whither they had gone on the 10th of that month.

On the 13th May, soon after the receipt of their despatches, they communicated the fact of their appointment to Lord Castlereagh. A few days afterward, they received a note from Lord Bathurst, suggesting the substitution of Ghent in preference to Gottenburg, as the seat of the negotiation, which was subsequently acceded to by the American ministers. Mr. **Bayard** left London on the 23d May, and, arriving in Paris on the 28th, left it on the 15th June for Ghent, where he arrived on the 27th of the same month, and found Mr. Adams and Mr. Russell. In a few days, they were joined by Messrs. Clay and Gallatin; the members of the mission having been informed that they might expect the arrival of the British ministers about the 1st of July. The latter, however, did not arrive until the 6th August; and on the next day the negotiations commenced, which terminated in a treaty of peace, which was signed on the 24th December, 1814.

Mr. **Bayard** left Ghent on the 7th January, 1815, and arrived in Paris on the 11th of the same month; here he designed to remain until it should be necessary to repair to London, to assist with the other members of the mission, in the negotiation of a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, with which they had also been charged. On the 4th March, however, he was attacked with the disease which was to prove fatal to his life. After severe suffering and a confinement for most of the period to his chamber, he left Paris in a state of great debility on the 10th of May, and embarking immediately on his arrival at Havre, the vessel sailed for Plymouth, where she arrived on the 14th of the same month. Here, in daily expectation of the arrival of Mr. Clay from London, who was to take passage in the same ship, he was detained for five weeks, during which time he was unable to leave his berth, but remained in a state of excessive suffering and alarming debility. The appointment of minister to Russia had been conferred on him by the president, and confirmed by the senate; but he promptly declined its acceptance. At length the ship was ordered to sail, and arriving in the Delaware on the 1st of August, Mr. **Bayard** found himself once more, after an absence of more than two years, in the bosom of his family. But it was only to receive their welcome, and to mingle the tears of joy at his return with those of grief for their final separation. He expired on the 6th August, 1815, at the age of forty-eight years, and that Providence which saw fit to remove him from this life, in the maturity of his powers, and the highest capability of usefulness, indulged the fond wish of his heart, to embrace once more his wife and children, and draw his last breath in the land of his nativity.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

John Caldwell Calhoun was born March 18th, 1782, in Abbeville district, South Carolina, where his youngest brother, Patrick, now resides. His grandfather, James Calhoun, emigrated with his family from Ireland, and settled, in 1733, in Pennsylvania. His father, Patrick Calhoun, was then six years old. Several years afterwards the family removed to the western part of Virginia; but, upon Braddock's defeat, the settlement was broken up, and they went to South Carolina, where, in 1756, they established themselves in a place which was called "Calhoun's settlement." Here the Cherokees, their immediate neighbors, very soon attacked them. The struggle was violent. Half the males, and among them, the eldest brother, James Calhoun, who commanded on the occasion, fell; and, after the defeat, their aged mother, with several of the other females and many of the children, were butchered by the savages. Patrick Calhoun, who displayed daring courage, was immediately appointed by the provincial government to command a body of rangers for the defence of the frontier, and showed himself worthy of the station. Upon the conclusion of peace, the family, which had been dispersed, re-occupied their "settlement."

In 1770, Patrick Calhoun was married to Martha Caldwell, of Charlotte county, Virginia, niece of the Rev. James Caldwell, of New Jersey, a presbyterian divine, who stood prominent in the revolutionary war. The issue of this marriage were four sons and one daughter, of whom the subject of this memoir was the youngest but one, and as a tribute of respect to the memory of his uncle, Major John Caldwell, a zealous whig, who had been inhumanly butchered by the tories, he received the name of John Caldwell Calhoun.

Both parents were exemplary for piety and virtue. The father was a hardy and enterprising pioneer; but unlike most of that class, he placed a high value upon education. Though he was entirely self-taught, and lived the greater part of his life on the frontier, surrounded by danger, he made himself an excellent English scholar, and an accurate and skilful surveyor, which profession he long followed. He was the first member ever elected to the provincial legislature from the interior of South Carolina. Of this body, and the state legislature, after the revolution, he continued a member for thirty years without intermission, except for a single term, until his death, in 1796. He was a zealous whig, and a disinterested patriot. He opposed the adoption of the federal constitution on the ground that it conferred rights on Congress incompatible with the sovereignty of the states.

At thirteen years of age young Calhoun was placed at the academy of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Waddel, since so distinguished, as a teacher, in the Southern states. The death of his father, however, interrupted his studies, and the academy ceased for a time. He continued to reside with Dr. Waddel, and made ample use of a circulating library, of which his brother-in law was librarian. Hither he resorted instinctively, and without any direction, passing over lighter, and, to persons of his age, usually more alluring literature, fixed his attention upon history. With such unremitting industry did he labor, that he is said to have read, in the course of fourteen weeks, Rollin's Ancient History, Robertson's Charles V. and America, Voltaire's Charles XII., the large edition of Cooke's Voyages, the first volume of Locke on the Human Understanding, and several smaller works. Under this severe application, in which his meals and rest were neglected, his eyes were injured, his countenance grew pallid, and his whole frame became emaciated. His mother, alarmed for his health, took him home; where separation from books, air and exercise very soon reinstated him; and to his love of books, succeeded, by a natural transition, a passion for the sports of the country. Though the progress of his education was now arrested, yet his new manner of life laid the foundation of a vigorous constitution, and he contracted, also, that fondness for agriculture, which has distinguished so many illustrious names.

In the midst of family arrangements, and in consequence of his growing attachment to agricultural pursuits, John had abandoned all thought of his former studies, when his brother James, who had been placed in a compting house in Charleston, returned home to spend the summer of 1800, and was so struck with his capacity, that he importuned him to turn his attention at once to a classical education, though it was not till after great persuasion, that he yielded to his brother's judgment, Accordingly he proceeded to Dr. Waddel's academy, which had been reöpened in Columbia county, Georgia, where, in 1800, he may properly be said to have begun, at the age of eighteen, a classical education. Here his progress was so rapid, that he was enabled to join the junior class at Yale college in the autumn of 1802.

In that institution he took a high grade in all the studies; but, though he did not want imagination and taste, he was peculiarly distinguished by the depth and quickness of his intellect. He differed widely from Dr. Dwight, the eminent individual, who presided over the college, in political opinions, and, although they had frequent discussions, they were always of a friendly character. It is related that in the course of a recitation in Paley's Philosophy, the Doctor expressed a doubt, "whether the consent of the governed, was the only just origin of legitimate government?" This caused an animated debate between him and his pupil which held the class in delighted suspense till dinner, in the course of which the student evinced such depth of thought, and such power of argument and eloquence, that his celebrated preceptor predicted his future rise. "That young man," he said to a friend, "has talents enough to be president of the United States."

Just four years after commencing the Latin grammar, he graduated with the highest honors, at the head of a large and talented class, but was prevented by sickness from delivering his oration, the subject of which was "The qualifications necessary to a perfect statesman."

After enrolling himself, on his return home, a student of law with H. W. Desaussure, he returned to New England, and entered the Litchfield law school, where for eighteen months under the Judges Reeve and Gould, he made great advancement. The morning was devoted to law, the rest of the day to general literature and political science, and he cultivated with especial care, extemporaneous speaking. It was in the debating society of this place, where the most agitating political topics of the day were discussed before crowded meetings, that Mr. Calhoun who was ever the champion of the republican side, first developed his great powers of parliamentary debate. It was his custom, even then, to prepare by reflection, and not by arranging on paper, what he meant to say, nor by taking notes of the arguments of others. A good memory preserved the order of his own thoughts, and a wonderful power of analysis and classification enabled him to digest rapidly, and distribute in their proper places, the answer and refutation of all the arguments of the speakers, however numerous, whom he followed.

In 1806, he returned to South Carolina, and in 1807 commenced, in his native district, a lucrative practice, ranking, from the very outset, with the most eminent lawyers in his circuit. An incident occurred about this time, which brought him into distinguished notice. The affair of the Chesapeake had just created great excitement throughout the south: a meeting of the people was called at Abbeville court house, and Mr. Calhoun was one of the committee appointed to draft an address and resolutions. He was requested also to address the meeting. The day arrived—the assembly was large. It was his first appearance before the public, and trying as was the situation, he acquitted himself in a manner that excited enthusiastic approbation. Soon after he was proposed as a candidate for the next legislature, and in spite of a prejudice which for years had prevented the election of a lawyer, he was chosen by an overwhelming majority. Here, during two successive sessions, he took the lead in every matter of importance, and eminently distinguished himself for that political foresight and sagacity, for which he has ever been so remarkable.

He took his seat in congress in the autumn of 1811, at the commencement of the first session of the twelfth congress, having been elected by a vast majority to represent the district composed of Abbeville, Newberry, and Laurens. His reputation had preceded him, and he was placed at once second on the committee of foreign affairs, which was at that juncture the most important. An able report, on which the discussions of the session chiefly turned, recommended an immediate appeal to arms, and Mr. Calhoun's first effort in congress was, in sustaining the measures recommended, to reply to a most able and eloquent speech of John Randolph, also a member of the committee, and one of the most sagacious opponents and powerful orators, which this or any country ever boasted. Public excitement was strong, the house crowded, and the orator, rising with the greatness of the occasion, delivered a speech, which, for lofty patriotism, cogent reasoning, and soul-stirring eloquence, has seldom been equalled. It met unbounded and universal applause. He was compared to "one of the old sages of the old congress, with the graces of youth," and the "young Carolinian" was hailed as "one of the master spirits, who stamp their name upon the age in which they live."

Early in the session General Porter retired from congress, and Mr. Calhoun was placed at the head of the committee on foreign relations, which committee, in addition to their appropriate duties, were called upon to report bills to carry into effect the military preparations they had recommended. Thus, by circumstances, as well as by preëminent ability, was he at this early period at the head of the party in the house of representatives, which sustained the war with England.

It was at this momentous period he delivered one of his best speeches, from which a short passage may be here extracted, as well because it evinced his profound and philosophical character of mind, as the independence of spirit, which could not in all cases, submit to the trammels of party, and led him to differ, in common with his able and virtuous colleague, Lowndes, from the administration, on the subject of the restrictive system and the navy. In speaking of the embargo, he says,—"I object to the restrictive system because it does not suit the genius of the people, nor that of the government, nor the geographical character of our country. We are a people essentially active. I may say we are preëminently so. No passive system can suit such a people; in action superior to all others; in patient endurance inferior to many. Nor does it suit the genius of our government. Our government is founded on freedom, and hates coercion. To make the restrictive system effective, requires the most arbitrary laws. England, with the severest statutes, has not been able to exclude prohibited articles; and Napoleon, with all his power and vigilance, was obliged to resort to the most barbarous laws to enforce his continental system. This nation ought to be taught to rely on its own courage, its fortitude, its skill, and virtue for protection. These are the only safeguards in the hour of danger. Man was endowed with these great qualities for his defence. There is nothing about him that indicates that he is to conquer by endurance; he is not encrusted in a shell; he is not taught to rely upon his insensibility, his passive suffering, for defence. No, sir, it is on the invincible mind, on a magnanimous nature, he ought to rely. Here is the superiority of our kind; it is these that render man the lord of the world. It is the destiny of his condition that nations rise above nations as they are endowed in a greater degree with these brilliant qualities."

To trace Mr. Calhoun's course or to recount his services during the war, would fill a volume. It is sufficient to say that in the leading position of chairman of the committee of foreign relations, in a complication of adverse circumstances, during the gloom of that contest, calculated to overwhelm the feeble and appal the stoutest, against a weight and ardor of opposition unknown to the congress of the revolution, he never faltered, never doubted, never despaired of the republic; but by his genius and wisdom, patriotism and unshaken firmness, he rose conspicuous in the constellation of talents which distinguished both sides, and arousing his countrymen to action by the most animating strains of eloquence, made himself the chief support of the "second war of independence," and finally triumphed in the sunshine of glory which burst upon his country at its termination.

At this period the army, the navy, and the revenue had grown beyond the wants of peace, and the currency was deranged beyond all former example, except at the close of the war of the revolution. These subjects gave birth to momentous questions. Of them the first was the military peace establishment, about which there was great diversity of opinion. Mr. Calhoun contended that a small peace establishment was most congenial with the institutions of the country, and that the great point was to have it permanent and well organized, an object which he afterwards effectually accomplished while secretary of war.

The other important subjects were deferred till the following session, when Mr. Calhoun was placed at the head of the committee on currency. Events which took place at the preceding session, had designated him for the place, as he had then successfully resisted the project of a non-specie-paying bank, (devised principally with a view to enable the government to raise loans for the prosecution of the war,) under the conviction that such a bank, by reason of those loans, would on the return of peace be enlisted against the resumption of specie payments, and that its influence united with that of the state banks would defeat the efforts of congress to re-establish a sound currency. He believed that it was intended by the constitution, to place the currency under the control of the general government, and that the power over it was delegated to congress, and *was not a right reserved to the states.* Nothing could exceed the derangement of the currency at the termination of the war, when that power was exclusively exercised by the states, and the notes of banks incorporated by them which could not be converted into specie, and were depreciated according to circumstances from one to twenty per cent., constituted the currency in which the public dues were collected, the public creditors paid, and the moneyed transactions of the country carried on. After a full examination of the various remedies proposed for so fearful a disease, which threatened the union itself, it was believed by the committee, that the only practicable means of restoring a sound currency, and placing it under the constitutional control of the general government, was the establishment of a bank of sufficient capital on sound principles, bound to redeem its notes in cash, which, by its influence and aid, would at once compel and assist the state banks to return to specie payments. A bill in conformity with this belief, was reported by Mr. CALHOUN, and with such forcible arguments did he sustain it; so clearly did he demonstrate the unconstitutional condition of the currency; so manifestly did he prove its danger and injustice, and that there was no other feasible remedy in the power of the house, that in spite of the opposing influence of the state banks, the constitutional scruples of many of the members, and the resistance of a number of the leaders of the opposition, he succeeded in effecting the passage of the bill, though it was well ascertained that a decided majority was opposed to it at its introduction. Of this powerful speech, nothing remains but an imperfect skeleton.

Beside the revenue bill, which gave rise to a debate on the state of the union, involving a discussion of the policy of the country in time of peace, in which Mr. CALHOUN made one of the most splendid displays of parliamentary eloquence ever exhibited before congress; other important subjects arose during the session, in all which he took a prominent part. But the lofty course pursued by him in regard to the "famous compensation law," very strongly marks his character, and may, perhaps, be best judged of, from the following eulogium pronounced by a strong political opponent. Mr. Grosvenor said "he had heard with peculiar satisfaction, the able, manly, and constitutional speech of the gentleman from South Carolina." Here Mr. Grosvenor, recurring in his own mind to a personal difference with Mr. CALHOUN, which arose during the war—paused a moment, and then proceeded,—"Mr. Speaker, I will not be restrained—no barrier shall exist, which I will not leap over, for the purpose of offering to that gentleman my thanks for the judicious, independent, and national course which he has pursued in the house for the last two years, and particularly on the subject now before us. Let the honorable gentleman continue with the same independence, aloof from party views and local prejudices, to pursue the great interests of his country, and fulfil the high destiny for which it is manifest he was born. The buzz of popular applause may not cheer him on the way, but he will inevitably arrive at a high and happy elevation in the view of his country and the world."

In December, 1817, Mr. CALHOUN was appointed by Mr. Monroe to the office of secretary of war. Here was a new theatre; his congressional career of six years had been brilliant; as a legislator and as an orator, he stood on a proud elevation before his country, and now his capacity for administration was to be tested. Such was the deranged state of the department, the vast accumulation of its business, and its imperfect organization, that many friends dissuaded him from occupying a post of so much danger. Space will not permit even a sketch of the history of his administration of the war department during seven years. He found it, in all its branches, in confusion, and left it in complete order. He found upwards of forty millions of dollars of unsettled accounts, which he reduced to less than three millions, and he completely prevented all further accumulation by the unexampled exactness of accountability which he introduced into every branch of the disbursements, and in consequence of which he was enabled to report to congress in 1823, that, "of the entire amount of money drawn from the treasury in 1822, for the military service, including pensions, amounting to four million five hundred and seventy-one thousand nine hundred and sixty one dollars and ninety-four cents, although it passed through the hands of two hundred and ninety-one disbursing agents, there had not been a single defalcation, nor the loss of a cent to the government; and that he had reduced the expense of the army from four hundred and fifty-one dollars per man, to two hundred and eighty-seven dollars, and thereby saved to the country annually more than one million three hundred thousand dollars.

It is to be remembered that all this was effected under adverse circumstances; when Mr. Calhoun, who had been brought forward as a candidate for the presidency, had to encounter misrepresentations, and a violent opposition to almost every measure he proposed for the improvement of the department. In fact it is only by the perfect order and system brought into the department, that it is possible to explain how Mr. Calhoun found time for preparing his numerous reports, which are not surpassed in ability by our ablest public documents, particularly those on our Indian affairs, internal improvements, and the reduction of the army; for the despatch of the immense mass of unsettled accounts of the war; for the examination of the claims for revolutionary pensions; the thorough resuscitation of the military academy; the establishment of discipline and rigid economy in the army; a complete reörganization, which gave us, at the expense of a force of six thousand men, so officered as to be capable of prompt enlargement, a peace establishment having the military capacity, and defensive power of thirty thousand; the survey of our maritime frontier; the institution of a system of permanent fortifications for our coasts; the establishment of a cordon of military posts, stretching from the upper lakes around our western frontier; and, finally, for his duties as a leading and influential member of Mr. Monroe's able and enlightened cabinet.

In the second term of Mr. Monroe's presidency, the question of the choice of a successor agitated the country, and Mr. CALHOUN's name was brought forward with those of four other distinguished candidates. Events had turned the controversy, so far as he was concerned, more particularly between his friends and those of Mr. Crawford, on the subject of a congressional *caucus*, as the means of designating the chief magistrate. Mr. CALHOUN believing that, in consequence of the great increase of the patronage of the government, it was dangerous to place thus in the power of the president, the choice of his successor, through his influence over the members of congress, took a decided stand against it. In the progress of the canvass, Mr. CALHOUN's name was withdrawn so as to strengthen the probability of a choice by the people, and consequently to lessen the hazard of the election being devolved upon the house of representatives. The contest terminated in returning General Jackson, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Crawford as the three highest candidates to the house, and the election of Mr. CALHOUN by a large majority of the people as vice-president. We cannot dwell on the events which succeeded. During the whole canvass Mr. CALHOUN bore very kind personal and political relations with both the leading candidates; but acting on the principle which had placed him in opposition to a congressional caucus, he did not hesitate to avow his opinion that the members of the house, in discharging the high duties devolved on them, ought to act in reference and subordination to the will of the people. He was necessarily, therefore, placed in the opposition, which at the end of the term, overthrew the administration, and terminated in the election of General Jackson as president, and the reëlection of himself as vice-president.

It is admitted that Mr. CALHOUN conferred upon the vice-presidency a dignity and character worthy of the station. His decisions gave universal satisfaction with one exception, the circumstances of which were remarkable, viz., his decision in regard to the power of the vice-president, as presiding officer of the senate, to call a senator to order *for words spoken in debate*. The senate at no period had been in such a state of excitement. Mr. CALHOUN was known to be opposed to the administration. It was the first case which had occurred, and the principle on which the decision rested was novel. The constitution gives each house the power of establishing its rules of proceeding, and there existed at this time no rule in the senate which gave the vice-president the power in question. Accordingly, while those who took the opposite view contended that the vice-president possessed this power inherently under the constitution, as the presiding officer of the body, Mr. CALHOUN decided that as the rules did not confer the power, either expressly or by implication, he did not possess it, believing if he possessed it under the constitution there could be no appeal to the senate, and the freedom of debate in that body would depend upon the pleasure of an officer who held his place independent of it. Satisfied with the correctness of his decision, Mr. CALHOUN evinced not the slightest impatience at the clamor which followed. He calmly and confidently left his conduct to abide the result of cooler, and more mature investigation. The result has proved that a good cause may be left to the quiet operation of time. After the lapse of two years, the senate, without any movement of his friends took up the subject, and after a full examination and discussion, Mr. CALHOUN's decision received the deliberate sanction of that body.

This brings us down to a period so near the present time, that it is not necessary to give even a succinct narrative of Mr. CALHOUN's course as connected with public events, and accordingly we pass over the measures adopted by General Jackson on his accession to power, the position in which Mr. CALHOUN was placed in relation to him politically in consequence of those measures, the rupture of their political and private relations, the correspondence to which it gave rise, the character of that correspondence, and the vindication of his own conduct which it contains. We pass over all these and come to that portion of his political life which his friends confidently believe will hereafter be the most distinguished, and will most strongly mark his character with posterity. We mean that which followed the passage of the tariff of 1828, and the part which he felt himself compelled to take in resistance to what he considered an unconstitutional and oppressive act, in order to arrest a course of events which he clearly perceived, at that early period, would grow out of the measure, and which he was under a deep conviction would terminate, if not arrested, in the destruction of the liberty and the constitution of the country, or in the dissolution of the union. Apprehending, from what he saw in the passage of the tariff act of 1828, that the expectations of the friends of an equal system of benefits and burdens in reference to the protective system, and a thorough reformation of the government, and restoration of the constitution to its primitive principles, which he deemed necessary to the preservation of the country, could not be realized in any other way, he turned his attention from that time *to the sovereignty of the states and their reserved rights* as the only certain means of effecting these objects, the salvation of our institutions, and of the union. The result was, that view of our system which recognises in each state, as a sovereign party to the political compact, a right to declare an act of congress, which it believes to be unconstitutional, to be null and void, and of course not obligatory upon its citizens, and to arrest the execution of such an act within its limits. This doctrine, which was rendered so unpopular under the name of *nullification*, is maintained to be clearly contained in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, is more fully stated and carried out in the discussions to which it gave rise in the controversy between South Carolina and the general government. In these discussions the papers prepared by Mr. CALHOUN, constitute a striking part.*

The first of these papers attributed to him, is the exposition of the South Carolina legislature in the session of 1828, in which a full

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* The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, which were the *platform* of the old democratic republican faith, contain the following passages, which are given for the satisfaction of the reader.

"Resolved, That this assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the federal government as resulting from the compact to which the states are parties, as limited by the plain sense, and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no farther valid than they are authorised by the grants enumerated in that compact; *and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the states, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.*" Virginia resolution, of 1798, drawn up by James Madison.

"Resolved, That this commonwealth considers the federal union, upon the terms, and for the purposes specified in the late compact, as conducive to the liberty and happiness of the several states: That it does now unequivocally declare its attachment to the union, and to that compact agreeably to its obvious and real intention, and will be among the last to seek its dissolution; That if those, who administer the general government, be permitted to transgress the limits fixed by that compact, by a total disregard to the special delegations of power therein contained, an annihilation of the state governments, and the erection upon their ruins of a general consolidated government, will be the inevitable consequence; That the principle and construction contended for by sundry of the state legislatures, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despot-

and very original view is taken of the relations between the states and the general government, and the operation of the protective system as affecting unequally the two great sections of the union. This was followed, in 1830, by a statement drawn up by Mr. CALHOUN, containing his opinion on the relations between the state and the general government, in deference to public opinion, which seemed to demand an exposition of his views on a subject which then began so deeply to agitate the country. The open avowal of doctrines then considered by many as little short of treason, which he knew would separate him from many of his political friends, on a conviction of duty, and without regard to the effect it would have upon his popularity, required a firmness of purpose and a deep and solemn sense of duty which few possessed. Subsequently, at Governor Hamilton's request, he addressed him a letter in which the subject is more amply discussed, and which acquired for Mr. CALHOUN a reputation for ability and candor even among those who did not approve his doctrine.

The payment of the public debt, without a satisfactory adjustment of the tariff, brought on a crisis which will long be remembered. South Carolina carried out her doctrine; a convention of the people was called in their sovereign capacity, and the protective acts declared unconstitutional, and therefore void, and no law. At the call of his state, Mr. CALHOUN resigned his office of vice-president of the United States, and was elected senator in congress, and took his seat in that body to defend her cause, which he believed to be the cause of liberty and the constitution. His re-appearance, after so many years, on the floor of a deliberative body, was under circumstances the most trying that can be conceived. He and his colleague stood almost alone. The cause was universally unpopular, and regarded as synonymous with disunion and treason. Under these circumstances, with all the disadvantage of not having spoken in a public assembly for more than sixteen years, he had to meet the joint array of the talents, both of the administration, and of the opposition.

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ism, since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers; *That the several states who formed that instrument, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction, and that a* NULLIFICATION *by those sovereignties of all unauthorised acts done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy.*" Kentucky resolutions of 1799. The original draft of which was made by Mr. Jefferson.

In this trying juncture he acquitted himself so well, that the tide of public opinion which so strongly set against him at the beginning of the session turned in his favor, and those not convinced by his arguments, felt at least a conviction of his sincerity, integrity, and patriotism. The contest was mainly between Mr. CALHOUN and the distinguished senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Webster, the principal point in issue between whom was finally reduced to the naked question, whether our constitution is, or is not a *compact* between the states, the latter admitting that *if* it be a compact, the doctrines contended for by the former followed as necessary consequences.

We can not dwell upon the efforts which Mr. CALHOUN made during the highly interesting session of 1833–4, but we may with confidence cite his speeches on the question of the Deposites, the Currency, the repeal of the Force bill, and the Protest of the president, as being among the best models our parliament history affords.

In the present sketch of Mr. CALHOUN's career, only the outlines of his political life and conduct have been given. Many important particulars have, from necessity, been entirely omitted, and space now remains to add only a short notice of his family, his person, and his private character, and to make a few concluding remarks.

On the 8th of May, 1811, Mr. CALHOUN was married to Miss Floride Calhoun, the daughter of John Ewing Calhoun, formerly a senator in congress of great respectability from South Carolina. They have seven children, five of them are sons, and two daughters.

In his person, Mr. CALHOUN is slender and tall. His countenance at rest is strikingly marked by decision and firmness. In conversation it is highly animated, expressive, and indicative of genius. His eyes are large, dark, brilliant, and penetrating, and leave no doubt at first view of a high order of intellect. His manners are easy, natural, and unassuming, and as frank as they are cordial and kind. He has none of the cautious reserve and mystery of common politicians; but is accessible to all, agreeable, instructive, and eloquent in conversation, and communicates his opinions with the utmost freedom and unreserve.

In all his domestic relations his life is without a blemish.

As an orator he stands in the foremost rank of parliamentary speakers. On first rising in debate, he has ever felt the anxiety of diffidence which is almost always the companion of genius. His manner of speaking is energetic, ardent, rapid, and marked by a solemn earnestness, which inspires a full belief in his sincerity and deep conviction. His style is forcible, logical, and condensed; often figurative for illustration—never for ornament. His mind is amply stored with the fruits of learning, but still more with those of observation and reflection. Hence depth, originality, and power characterise all his efforts.

As a statesman in the most enlarged and elevated sense of the term, he has no superior; for to the highest intellectual powers, he unites those elevated moral qualities which are equally essential with ability to complete the character of a perfect statesman—inflexible integrity—honor without a stain, disinterestedness, temperance, and industry; a firmness of purpose which disdains to calculate the consequences of doing his duty; prudence and energy in action, devotion to his country, and an inextinguishable love of liberty and justice.

ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

ROBERT Y. HAYNE, the subject of this sketch, was born near Charleston, South Carolina, on the 10th November, 1791. He was the third son of a respectable planter, and is descended from a revolutionary family, the only male members of which, who were able to bear arms in the war of the revolution, sacrificed themselves in the cause of independence. The one lost his life in consequence of confinement in a British prison ship, and the other (the gallant and lamented martyr, Isaac Hayne,) perished on a scaffold, the victim of British perfidy and cruelty. The father of the subject of this sketch had ten children—but in consequence of the moderate extent of his fortune, and of pecuniary embarrassments, resulting chiefly from liabilities incurred for others, he was unable to give his son the benefit of collegiate education. ROBERT, therefore, began and finished his education at a common grammar school in the city of Charleston. He then, at the age of seventeen, commenced the study of the law, under the direction of Langdon Cheves, well known throughout the union as an enlightened jurist and distinguished statesman. At the conclusion of the usual period of study, during which he had applied himself with unremitted assiduity and diligence to the attainment of legal science, he was admitted to practice his profession. An incident may be here mentioned, which, as it is indicative of that zeal and ardor to which, perhaps, Mr. HAYNE has been in a great measure indebted for his success in life, may well deserve a place in this brief account of his career. Early in 1812, when our second war with Great Britain was rapidly approaching, a requisition was made by the United States for a corps of militia to defend the seaboard. Mr. HAYNE, though not then of age, and incapable, therefore, by the laws of South Carolina, of practising as a lawyer, applied for and obtained leave from the judges to be examined; and having obtained an order for his admission to the bar, upon the condition that his certificate should be withheld until he should attain the age of twenty-one, he immediately volunteered his services to the United States, and took the field as a lieutenant in the third regiment of state troops, with which he remained until the expiration of their term of service. Whilst serving at Fort Moultrie, (under the command of Colonel William Drayton, of the regular army,) he delivered an address on the 4th July, 1812, to the officers and soldiers of that garrison. This was his first effort as an orator, but, young as he was, the patriotism of his sentiments, the classical purity of his style, and the decisive manifestations which he even then gave of the possession of oratorical powers of a very high order, brought him prominently forward to the public view. Mr. Hayne is now major-general of the South Carolina militia, to the improvement of which, in discipline and military science, he has very essentially contributed by his zealous devotion to his duties in every grade, from the lowest to the highest. He is universally acknowledged to be one of the most accomplished and popular officers that have ever exercised the elevated command which he now holds.

On receiving an honorable discharge from the service of the United States, Mr. Hayne returned to Charleston, and immediately commenced the practice of the law. Having no patrimonial estate, he was, from the beginning, thrown entirely upon his own resources. Falling heir, however, in some degree, to the practice of Mr. Cheves, who had accepted a seat in congress, he was rapidly and eminently successful in his professional pursuits, and his practice continued regularly to increase up to the period of his final retirement from the bar. Before he had attained his twenty-second year, he found himself in possession of an income, which authorized him to incur the expenses of a family; and from that time, it is believed, his professional advancement and emoluments were not surpassed by those of any practitioner at the Charleston bar.

Mr. Hayne was first elected a member of the legislature in October, 1814. This was the first general election which had occurred since he had attained his majority. And, as a very decisive evidence of the high stand which he even then occupied in public estimation, and of the abundant promise which he had even then given of future usefulness and distinction, it deserves to be mentioned that he was elected at the head of a list of thirty-one candidates, (most of them men of the highest character and talents,) and that he received on that occasion, probably, the largest amount of votes ever given to any individual in a contested election in the city of Charleston. For this very flattering, and in one so young, extraordinary success, Mr. Hayne was no doubt much indebted to the firm and decided stand which he had taken in support of Mr. Madison's administration, and the war. Party spirit, at that period, ran high. The city of Charleston was nearly equally divided in relation to the war, and upon all the other great questions which were then so warmly contested by the political parties of that day, Mr. Hayne, upon all public occasions, avowed his opinions boldly, and displayed unusual zeal and energy in support of the principles he had espoused, and of the national character and honor. On the 4th of July, 1814, particularly, he delivered the annual oration as the organ of the democratic party, and of this performance it is certainly but justice to remark, that as none of the kind have ever been better composed, or more forcibly delivered, so not one, perhaps, has ever been attended with more triumphant effect upon the feelings and understandings of an audience, or upon the political fortunes of its author. It was towards the close of the same year in which that oration was delivered, that he was elected, as above mentioned, to the legislature of the state.

Mr. Hayne was now in his proper element, a deliberative assembly. Upon taking his seat, he was chosen chairman of the military committee, then the most important in the house—and having at the same time received the appointment from the governor, of quarter-master-general of the state, he acted a very conspicuous part, not only in preparing and arranging the military defences of the state, but in all the most important business of legislation, and especially in originating, advocating, or supporting all such measures as were best calculated to strengthen the arm of the federal government in the honorable contest in which it was then engaged.

After having served five years in the house of representatives, during which he had deservedly acquired the reputation of one of the principal debaters on the floor, Mr. Hayne was unanimously chosen speaker of that body, and presided over its deliberations during the session of 1818. No stronger proof need be given than this, of the high estimation to which he had risen at the early age of twenty-seven. The occupancy of that chair, at such an age, is a compliment which has been awarded to him alone, nor is it more than common justice to say, that he proved himself worthy of the flattering distinction by his perfect acquaintance with, and prompt and exact discharge of, all its important duties, and by the general satisfaction which he gave in the impartiality of his conduct, and the amenity of his manners.

Of this satisfaction with his conduct as speaker, and of the rank which he held as a lawyer and an orator, a very honorable proof was quickly given, for at the close of the very first session of the legislature over which he had presided, he was unanimously elected to the office of attorney-general of the state; an office not only highly important and responsible in itself, but one which had never been filled by any but the most eminent lawyers in the state. It may be proper also, here to state, that shortly after his election as attorney-general, Mr. HAYNE was offered the appointment, by President Monroe, of attorney of the United States for the district of South Carolina, which he declined.

Mr. HAYNE continued to serve as attorney-general for four years, at the expiration of which, in December, 1822, (having just then attained his thirty-first year,) he was chosen senator to congress for six years from the 4th of March, 1823. To this station he was reëlected in 1828, without opposition, for another period of six years.

The character and public services of General HAYNE, open a wide field; but our limits rather restrict us to an outline, than permit us to fill up and develop all the features of the picture.

As a lawyer, General HAYNE was deeply skilled in the principles of the science, and always happy and judicious in their application. His forensic displays exhibit great versatility of powers, and an admirable union of all the essential requisites of oratorical distinction. Comprehensive in his views, lucid in his arrangement, and possessed at the same time of the very happiest mode of public speaking, he was equally successful in convincing the understanding of the court, and in enlisting and controlling the feelings of the jury. Liberal in practice, and courteous in demeanor, he not only never took an unfair advantage of an opponent, but always extended the hand of kindness to those of the profession who required his aid. Of him it may be truly said, that as he had no superior in legal learning at the Charleston bar, so few approached him in eloquence, or in public estimation. No man was ever more popular in his profession, or more regretted, as the loss of a distinguished ornament, when he was removed to a higher sphere.

But it is as a statesman and an orator, that General HAYNE is best known to the Union at large; and it is to his displays and services in the senate of the United States, that he is principally indebted for the reputation which he now enjoys. Although scarcely of the constitutional age, when he first took his seat in the senate, he soon attained a very distinguished rank among the enlightened and experienced politicians who composed it. Amongst his first efforts, was his speech against the tariff of 1824, in which he exhibited the views of the state he represented, and forcibly exposed what he considered the impolitic and ruinous tendency of the restrictive system. He soon after originated and zealously supported a general bankrupt law, which, although it did not succeed, was not the less demanded by the necessities of the country, or the principles of justice. His speeches in reference to that bill have been justly and universally admired as very able arguments in reference to a great question of constitutional and mercantile law. As chairman of the naval committee of the senate, he deservedly obtained high commendation, both for his intimate knowledge of the wants and details of the navy, and for his patriotic devotion to its interests and honor. It is to him that the nation is indebted for the excellent law for the gradual improvement of the navy, and preservation of ship timber, and for several other acts which have tended greatly to increase its usefulness, perfect its discipline, and preserve its popularity. These were not, however, the only acts which he originated, or the only matters which engaged his attention as a senator. Few members of the senate were more attentive to business, or took a more active part in general legislation. But of all his displays in that body, none, perhaps, have been so universally or so highly admired, as his two speeches, and particularly the last, in the "great debate" upon Mr. Foot's resolution respecting the surveys of the public lands. As a constitutional argument, his second speech upon that occasion will rank with any ever delivered in the senate. "Cogent and masterly in its reasoning—keen and delicate in its irony—pure, perspicuous, and elevated in its style, it exhibits," says a correspondent, "a profound knowledge of the true principles of our constitution, and of the relative rights and duties of the federal and state governments; exposes the fallacy and danger of constructive doctrines, and has already done much to bring the federal government back to its original limits and intentions, and to revive and reëstablish the principles of Jeffersonian democracy. As an effort of intellect, it will rank amongst the highest in the annals of American eloquence; and as a faithful exposition of the true structure and objects of the American confederacy, it will be regarded as a text book by the supporters of the sovereignty of the states in every section of the union."

History has already recorded the events of the latter part of the year 1832, and of the commencement of 1833. The opposition against the protective policy in South Carolina, which had for many years existed, had acquired such strength in the first mentioned year, that the legislature, assembled in special session, enacted a law, on the 26th of October, for the convocation of a convention of the people of the state, for the purpose of taking "into consideration the several acts of the congress of the United States, imposing duties on foreign imports, for the protection of domestic manufactures, or, for other unauthorized objects, to determine on the character thereof, and to devise the means of redress, &c." Of this convention Mr. HAYNE was elected a member from Charleston, the place of his residence, and when that body, on the 24th of November, adopted the celebrated ordinance of nullification, he voted with the majority. In December following, he was elected by the legislature, governor of the state, and was inaugurated on the 11th of that month, resigning his seat in the senate of the United States, which was filled by the election of Mr. Calhoun, who had vacated the post of vice-president. As governor of the state, Mr. HAYNE was very soon called upon to act. The proclamation of the president, issued on the 10th of December, in relation to the proceedings of South Carolina, reached Columbia in a very few days, and was met by a counter proclamation from governor HAYNE, expressed in terms of lofty defiance, on the 20th of the same month. The warlike aspect of these two documents, exhibiting on the one hand a determination to put down South Carolina by force, and on the other, a fixed resolution to resist unto death, very naturally excited an alarm for the safety of the Union, in all parts of the United States, which predisposed the majority of the people in favor of conciliatory measures. In South Carolina, preparations of the most vigorous and efficient kind were every where made for the defence of the state, and in these arrangements the governor took an active and conspicuous part. The proceedings which took place in congress on the 2d of March, 1833, are too well known to need a recapitulation here. Suffice it to say that the simultaneous passage of a bill modifying the tariff, and of one designed to enforce the collection of the revenue, put an end to the apprehensions of an approaching conflict between the federal government and the state of South Carolina, which induced the convention, on the 15th of March, to enact an ordinance, repealing the previous one of the 24th of November. Of this convention, Governor HAYNE was elected president at its second session, which commenced on the 11th of March, and closed on the 18th; General Hamilton having previously resigned.

From this memorable epoch until the month of December, 1834, Governor HAYNE continued in the executive chair, though not without having subjects of exciting interest to demand his solicitude. The spirit of party in South Carolina, had not been appeased by the settlement of the dispute with the government at Washington. The predominant party were desirous of enforcing obedience to the state in all future conflicts, by demanding an oath of allegiance, whilst the minority threatened resistance to any law which should be designed to exact it. In casting oil upon these troubled waters, Governor HAYNE was mainly instrumental, by putting forth a proclamation enjoining obedience to the decision of the court of appeals, which pronounced unconstitutional a military oath enjoined by the legislature, in opposition to the decided opinion entertained by the party in power. Perhaps to this wise and prudent course of the governor, may be traced that gradual relaxation of the spirit that urged the enforcement of an oath of allegiance, which subsequently terminated in the reconciliation of the two parties in the legislature, commemorated by the almost unanimous election of Mr. M'Duffie as governor of the state, and the abandonment of the bill designed to exact an oath of allegiance.

In his valedictory message, Governor HAYNE signified his wish to pass the residue of his days in retirement from public life; but in this desire he will scarcely be indulged.

The great characteristics of Mr. HAYNE's mind, are comprehensiveness, clearness, and strength. He readily perceives and embraces the strong points of a subject, and, directing all his energies to them, omits those which are merely minor or incidental. His speeches, therefore, whether long or short, are generally strictly confined to the subject before him; nor does he indulge in unnecessary amplification, or occupy time with the discussion of irrelevant or subordinate topics. He never speaks for the sake of speaking. He is always more intent upon ideas, than words—more desirous to convince, than shine. His style, therefore, has none of those little arts or affectations which are usually more designed to tickle the ear, than to inform the sense. Let it not be supposed, however, that his speeches are not polished, as well as vigorous, beautified by ornament, as well as recommended by intelligence. Argument, indeed, is his forte, but he also possesses, and often draws into requisition, extensive stores of classical literature, and the rich and varied resources of an active and fertile imagination. If he does not abound in metaphors and similes, his illustrations are natural and apt, and always strengthen what they are intended to embellish. His speeches, in fact, may be consulted with equal advantage, as sources of political information, or as furnishing a happy specimen of that finished style which ought ever to be aimed at in parliamentary debate.

Generally mild and persuasive, he is frequently, notwithstanding, vehement and impassioned; and though he prefers to reason or persuade, he often deals out invective with no sparing hand. His style, indeed, is always admirably adapted to his subject, and his readers are often astonished and delighted by vivid bursts of indignation, or by exquisite appeals to the best feelings of their hearts. His voice is full and melodious, and his manner earnest and impressive. Full of ingenuous sensibility, his eyes are as expressive as his tongue, and as he pours out his thoughts or feelings, either in a strain of captivating sweetness, or of impetuous and overbearing passion, every emotion of his soul is distinctly depicted in the lineaments of his countenance. When he does not convince, he delights, and even prejudice itself hangs charmed upon his lips.

Our limits now compel us to a close, and therefore we shall only say further, that no man in the Union is more distinguished by public spirit, and by an ardent devotion to the welfare of his country. Though steadfast in his own political principles, he is without a particle of intolerance towards his opponents, and in all the relations of domestic and social life, he is beloved and respected, amiable and affectionate, pure and irreproachable.

WILLIAM GASTON, LL.D.

THE name of GASTON is honorably associated in the annals of France, where the ancestors of the subject of this notice were zealous and distinguished adherents of the Huguenot cause, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. On the revocation of the edict of Nantz, they retired to Ballymore in Ireland, where Dr. Alexander Gaston, the father of the judge, was born. He was the younger brother of the Rev. Hugh Gaston, a presbyterian clergyman of great piety and learning, and the author of "Gaston's Concordance," a standard work in his church. Dr. Alexander Gaston was graduated at the medical college in Edinburgh, after which he accepted the appointment of surgeon in the navy, and attended the expedition which captured the Havana. The epidemic dysentery which prevailed with so much fatality among the troops, assailed even the surgeon; and with a constitution broken by disease, and daily wearing away from the exhaustion of a warm climate, he resigned his post and sailed for the North American provinces. He landed in Newbern, and after a residence of some years, during which he was engaged in the practice of his profession, was married, in May, 1775, to Margaret Sharpe, an English lady of the Catholic church. She had come out to North Carolina, on a visit to her two brothers, Girard and Joseph Sharpe, who were extensively engaged in commerce, and it was during this sojourn, that the gallantry of the young Irish physician, succeeded in permanently detaining her in Newbern.

WILLIAM GASTON, their second son, was born on the 19th of September, 1778. His elder brother died very soon after he was born, and before he was three years old, the accidents of war carried off his father. The circumstances of the death of Dr. Alexander Gaston are too tragical and interesting to be omitted, and as they strongly illustrate the ferocity of the intestine war, that was waged between the whigs and tories of the south, we shall venture to detail them somewhat at length. Dr. Gaston was one of the most decided whigs in North Carolina, and as early as the month of August, 1775, was elected, by the provincial congress, a member of the committee of safety, for the district of Newbern. At various periods of the war he served in the army, generally as a surgeon, and once (in the spring of 1776) as captain of a volunteer band, that marched to the aid of Wilmington, on the approach of the armament of Sir Henry Clinton. By his zealous and ardent support of the cause of freedom, he acquired the confidence of the popular authorities, and was distinguished by the bitter hatred of the loyalists, who, though in a minority, were still numerous in that section of the state.

In the month of August, 1781, Major Craig, of the British army, whose head-quarters were at Wilmington, advanced at the head of a small detachment of regular troops, and a gang of tories, towards Newbern, with a view of occupying that city. The tories were several miles in the advance, and rapidly entered the town on the 20th of August. The whigs, thus surprised, had but little opportunity to make a regular stand, and after an ineffectual resistance gave up the contest. Dr. Gaston, however, knew too well the hatred and ferocity of his foes, to surrender himself into their hands, and hurrying off his wife and children, endeavored to escape across the river Trent, and thus retire to his plantation on Bryce's creek.

He reached the wharf, accompanied by his family, but before he could embark them in the light scow which he had seized, the tories in a body came galloping down, in their eager and bloody pursuit, and forced him to push off in the stream, leaving his wife and children unprotected on the shore. He was standing erect in the boat, which floated about forty yards from the shore, watching the situation of his wife, and while she, at the feet of his pursuers, with all the agony of anticipated bereavement, was imploring mercy for herself and life for her husband, a musket, levelled over her shoulder, was discharged and the victim sacrificed.

Mrs. Gaston was thus left alone in America. Her two brothers had died, and the inhuman murder of her husband left her no other objects of affection, save her son and an infant daughter. But she did not shrink nor despair amidst these multiplied disasters. Supported by her high sense of religion, and an admirable energy of character, she sedulously devoted herself to the arduous duties which now devolved upon her. The education and proper training up of her son, became the grand object of her existence, and whatever of good there is in him must be ascribed to the affectionate tuition and admonitions of maternal solicitude. Her strong feelings, her exquisite sensibility, her high integrity, and above all, her religion, she indelibly stamped upon his mind, and even at this advanced period of his life, his character, admirable as it is, is nothing more than the maturity of the efforts of his mother.

While a school boy in Newbern, he is represented as having been very quick, and apt to learn; of an affectionate temper, but yet volatile and irritable. His mother used every means to correct his infirmities of disposition, and to give an aim to his pursuits—sometimes employing kindness, or mild but solemn admonition, and occasionally still stricter discipline. He continued under her guardianship and strict observation, until the fall of the year 1791, when he was sent to the college at Georgetown. The course of studies, though not very extensive, were rigorously enforced, and, as in all other catholic colleges, the ancient classics were long and painfully studied. In the spring of 1793 it was apprehended that the constitution of our student was sinking under a consumption. Accordingly he returned to his native climate, and there soon recovered his health, and renewed his studies. Determined to give her son every advantage of education which America afforded, Mrs. Gaston placed him under the direction of the Rev. Thomas P. Irwing, and after a few months of preparatory instruction, he entered the junior class of Princeton college, in the autumn of 1794. In 1796 he was graduated with the first honors of the institution; and he has been frequently heard to say, that it was the proudest moment of his life when he communicated the fact to his mother.

On his return from college he commenced the study of the law, in the office of François Xavier Martin, now a judge of the supreme court of Louisiana. In 1798, when he was only twenty years of age, he was admitted to the bar, and in August, 1800, the first year after his coming of age, he was elected a member of the senate of North Carolina. In 1808 he was chosen by the Newbern district an elector of president and vice-president, and in the same year he drew up the act of the assembly *regulating the descent of inheritances.* In 1813 he was elected a member of congress, and continued in that body until 1817, when he retired to the more agreeable pursuits of domestic and professional life.

Judge Gaston carried into congress the zeal and independence of an upright politician, as well as the learning of a jurist; and on reviewing his congressional career, his friends will find no cause for chagrin or mortification, whilst those who differed from him in opinions, will at least acknowledge the invariable rectitude of his political course.

His first great effort on the floor of congress, was his celebrated speech in opposition to the loan bill, and on that occasion he appears to have acted as the acknowledged leader of the federal party.

In the early part of the year 1815, a bill was introduced to authorize a loan of twenty-five millions of dollars to the government of the United States. In opposing this bill, Mr. GASTON declared that if it could be shewn necessary to accomplish any purposes demanded by the honor and welfare of the country, it assuredly should meet with no opposition from him. It was, he said, avowedly not necessary, except to carry on the scheme of invasion and conquest against the Canadas; and to that scheme he had never been a friend, and to its prosecution at that time he had invincible objections, founded on considerations of justice, humanity, and national policy. In the course of this speech he took a very extensive view of the causes of the war, as well as the manner in which it had been conducted.

There is one sentence in this speech which we shall extract as a fair specimen of Judge GASTON's style of oratory. Mr. Calhoun had, in the course of his remarks, spoken with much warmth of the factious opposition to the administration, which he was pleased to say might be salutary in a monarchy, but was highly dangerous in a government so republican as ours. Judge GASTON concluded his reply to this remark in the following eloquent peroration.

"If this doctrine were then to be collected from the histories of the world, can it now be doubted, since the experience of the last twenty-five years. Go to France—once revolutionary, now imperial France—and ask her whether factious power or intemperate opposition be the more fatal to freedom and happiness. Perhaps at some moment, when the eagle eye of her master is turned away, she may whisper to you to behold the demolition of Lyons, or the devastation of La Vendee. Perhaps she will give you a written answer. Draw near the fatal lamp post, and by its flickering light read it as traced in characters of blood that flowed from the guillotine—'Faction is a demon—faction out of power is a demon enchained—faction vested with the attributes of rule, is a Moloch of destruction.'"

In 1816, Mr. Stanford, of North Carolina, moved to expunge "*the previous question*" from the rules of the house; and this motion, which was opposed by Mr. Clay, Judge GASTON supported in one of the ablest speeches ever delivered by him in the hall of the representatives. It contained more learning than we thought existed on the subject, and we doubt whether, at the present day, its history in the

English parliament, or the American congress, is any where so accurately and ingeniously discussed, as in this speech. It was entirely a new field, and we shall venture to ascribe as much genius in the ingenuity which selected such an occasion for display, as in the eloquent and vivid manner in which the orator set forth his store of learning. It is a studied and richly carved work, and had obviously occupied his attention for a long time. We have not space for more than a short extract from this speech, but commend the whole of it to the perusal of all politicians and statesmen. After a few introductory remarks, Mr. GASTON said:—

"And, *sir*, I rejoice equally at the opposition which the motion of my colleague has encountered. If this hideous rule could have been vindicated, we should have received that vindication from the gentleman who has just resumed his seat. (Mr. Clay.) If his ingenuity and zeal combined, could form for the previous question no other defence than that which we have heard, the previous question cannot be defended. If beneath his shield it finds so slight a shelter, it must fall a victim to the just, though long delayed vengeance of awakened and indignant freedom. If Hector cannot defend his Troy, the doom of Troy is fixed by fate. It is indispensable, before we proceed further in the consideration of this subject, that we should perfectly understand what is our previous question. Gentlemen may incautiously suppose that it is the same with what has been called the previous question elsewhere. This would be a most fatal mistake.

Our previous question is altogether *sui generis*, the only one of its kind; and to know it we must consider not merely what is written of it in our code, but what it has been rendered by exposition and construction. Our previous question '*can* only be admitted when demanded by a majority of the members *present.*' It is a question, '*whether* the question under debate should now be *put.*' On the previous question '*there shall be no debate*;' '*until* it is decided, it shall preclude all amendment and debate of the *main question.*' If it be decided negatively, viz., that the main question shall *not* now be put, the main question is of course superseded; but if it be decided affirmatively that the main question *shall* now be put, the main question is to be put *instantaneously*, and no member can be allowed to amend or discuss it. The previous question is entitled to precedence over motions to amend, commit, or postpone the main question, and therefore, when admitted, puts these entirely aside. This, according to the latest improvement, is now our rule of the previous question, and certainly in your patent office there is no model of a machine better fitted to its purposes, than this instrument for the ends of tyranny. It is a power vested in a majority, to forbid at their sovereign will and pleasure, every member, not of that majority, from making known either his own sentiments, or the wishes or complaints of his constituents, in relation to any subject under consideration, or from attempting to amend what is proposed as a law for the government of the whole nation."

After detailing the history of the previous question in the British house of commons, and in the American congress, and shewing that it was not considered a machine to close debate, up to the year 1808, he proceeds to say, "It was impossible that any rule could be more completely settled, both by uninterrupted usage and solemn, deliberate adjudication, than was the rule of the previous question in this house. It was a rule perfectly consistent with good sense, with the requisite independence of the members of the house, and with the right of the free people whom they represented. It preserved decorum; it had a tendency to prevent unnecessary discussions; it superseded unnecessary questions; while it left perfectly untouched the fundamental principles of parliamentary and political freedom. Thus, sir, it continued the more firm for the impotent attempt which had been made to prevent it, and the better understood from the blunders which its examination had exposed. Such was the state of things, when on the memorable night of the 27th of February, 1811, the monster which we now call the 'previous question,' was ushered into existence, and utterly supplanted the harmless, useless being whose name it usurped."

This speech, so profound and so violent in its character, was received by the house with astonishment and admiration.

There is always something remarkable in the speeches of southern orators. A striking similarity of manner and of language, which shews at once the "*latitude*" of the orator. Vehement whenever they condemn, enthusiastic whenever they applaud, they carry into political strife "the rancor of opposition, or the idolatry of love."

Something of this feeling may be observed in the speeches of Mr. Gaston, which we have noticed, and which are among the finest specimens of southern eloquence. They contain a great deal of calm, weighty argument, but it is only when the orator turns to watch the position of his antagonist, that his language is fired by passion, and his denunciations are sent forth burning, and blazing, and "withering as they go."

After his retirement from congress, Judge Gaston frequently appeared in the assembly of North Carolina, and always as the leader of what may be called the constitutional party. In that body many of his most splendid speeches were made. He framed the law establishing the present supreme court of the state; and the liberal basis upon which it is established, is to be ascribed to his zealous and efficient support. In 1828, he delivered a speech upon the currency of the state, which has been classed among his highest efforts. His defence of the constitution of North Carolina, in 1831, will long be remembered. The constitution of the state is a venerable instrument. It came down to the present generation, from the sages of the revolution, and is loved and venerated in North Carolina for its very antiquity. It was a fit subject for the exhibition of his learning, eloquence, and patriotism, and those resources of his mind he poured forth with the most brilliant profusion.

Judge Gaston is now the junior member of the supreme court of North Carolina. It was in the practice of his profession, more than in the legislative hall, where he acquired his great reputation as an orator. He has been ever remarkable for his steady adherence to the UNION, and has distinguished himself for his zealous opposition to the doctrine of nullification, as lately set forth by the South Carolina politicians.

Although Judge Gaston has been, throughout his life, busily engaged in the discharge of professional and legislative duties, he has yet found time, in the intervals of such labors, to keep pace with the literature of the day. It has been his custom, in riding the circuit of his courts, to take with him the last new publication, and to peruse it as he rode along the road, and he has frequently been aroused from the enchantment of Scott, or Irving, by the upsetting of his sulky. His habits of study have ever been intense, his habits of recreation, refined. His intercourse in the society of his friends is marked with great mildness, affability, and occasional conviviality. In the narration of an anecdote, especially a professional one, he is unrivalled, and his manner of conversation generally playful and easy.

Judge Gaston is eminently a domestic man, and has devoted much of his time to the religious and moral training of his children. He has been thrice married. On the 4th of September, 1803, he married Miss Susan Hay, (daughter of John Hay, Esq., of Fayetteville,) who died on the 20th of April, 1804. On the 6th of October, 1805, he married Hannah McClure, the only daughter of

General McClure, and she died on the 12th of July, 1813, leaving one son and two daughters. In August, 1816, he again married Eliza Ann, eldest daughter of Doctor Charles Worthington, of Georgetown, District of Columbia, and she too died, on the 26th of January, 1819, leaving two infant daughters. On him thus devolved the sacred duty of educating and training up five infant children. In the discharge of this parental obligation he has amply repaid the debt of gratitude he owed his own mother, and in the fulfilment of the various duties of a citizen, he has proved himself worthy of a father who sacrificed his life in the cause of his country.

LEVI WOODBURY.

In the state of society and the form of government which exists in this country, the biography of individuals distinguished in our contemporary annals for the industry, ability, and success with which they have discharged the duties of civil life, is of the highest value. Those who read for mere amusement will not probably find in such notices so much attractive and interesting matter, as in animated details "of moving accidents by flood and field." But a sketch of the progress of individual men from the common level of society to the most conspicuous stations in the government, cannot fail to produce a salutary effect upon the rising generation, as well as indicate to the reflection of mature age the proper basis of public confidence. The plan of this work does not permit us to present at length the grounds and arguments, upon which political measures have been assailed and defended by their friends and opponents. All that has been undertaken with regard to politicians, is to give such leading facts as may have come to our knowledge, which will serve to throw light upon their education and introduction into public life, together with a succinct narrative of the most important situations in which they have been placed: leaving those readers who are desirous to obtain more minute particulars of personal history, to recur to other sources of information.

Levi Woodbury (the present Secretary of the Navy) is a native of the state of New Hampshire. He was born at Francistown, in the county of Hillsborough, about the beginning of 1790. His ancestors were among the early settlers of Beverly, one of the first plantations of the colony of Massachusetts, whence his father, Peter Woodbury, emigrated when quite young. With the exception of a few months spent at a permanent seminary, the elementary education of Mr. Woodbury was acquired in the free schools kept in his native village, in pursuance of those laws which are justly regarded as the pride and glory of New England.

Young men in the course of education are frequently accustomed in New Hampshire, as well as the other New England states, to bestow a part of their time upon instruction of these free schools in the country towns. Of her most distinguished sons, a large number have temporarily pursued the business of instruction in this manner. The habits of responsible and circumspect deportment induced by this custom, are in themselves an essential branch of practical education. Mr. WOODBURY was several times thus employed. It may be mentioned as a striking instance of the confidence placed in his capacity and discretion at an early age, that he was engaged to instruct a large school at Pepperell, Massachusetts, in his fourteenth year, and discharged his duty to the entire satisfaction of his employers.

In 1805, he entered Dartmouth college, and remained connected with this institution until 1809, when he graduated with a high reputation for talents and acquirements. His elevated rank as a scholar while in college, added to his subsequent well known devotion to literature, were probably the grounds which induced his *alma mater*, as early as 1824, to confer upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

On leaving college, Mr. WOODBURY attended the law school of Judge Reeve, at Litchfield, Connecticut, for a year, and spent the residue of the usual term of study preparatory to admission to the practice of law, at Boston, Exeter, and his native place. He was admitted to the bar in 1812, and immediately opened an office at Francistown.

The period at which Mr. WOODBURY entered upon the business of active life was a crisis of the deepest political interest. War had just been declared against Great Britain. The whole population was arrayed in opposition, and in support of the policy and expediency of this measure. In the New England states, the discussions of party politics were carried on at this time with unparalleled zeal and intensity. Public meetings were held in every part of New Hampshire, at which speeches were made and resolutions adopted, expressive of the views of the respective parties, and circulated among all classes of society. The immediate friends of Mr. WOODBURY were earnest supporters of the measures of the general government. The early impressions imbibed from that source, appear to have been accordant with his more mature opinions; since, notwithstanding his youth, he came forth publicly and took a high stand in these discussions. At a public meeting held at Weare, in the county of Hillsborough, soon after the declaration of war, a series of spirited and eloquent resolutions, attributed to his pen, were adopted, which produced a decided effect upon the subsequent course of that county. But in all the other counties of the state, the party opposed to the measures of government prevailed, and retained a majority until 1816.

During this interval, Mr. Woodbury devoted himself to his profession. Few lawyers have so early been engaged in such extensive practice; still fewer have so rapidly attained such high professional reputation.

In 1816, the political friends of Mr. Woodbury obtained the ascendency in the state elections. On the meeting of the legislature, Mr. Woodbury was chosen secretary of the senate; and the January following, he was appointed one of the three judges of the superior court.

This appointment to the bench of the highest judicial tribunal of the state at an unprecedented early age, drew general attention to the manner in which the duties were discharged. It is but bare justice to say, that the most sanguine expectations of his friends were fully realized. The readiness of apprehension and reach of thought, combined with great firmness and moral courage, manifested by Mr. Woodbury in the trial of causes, rendered his conduct upon the bench a model of judicial deportment. His legal opinions evinced extensive research and accurate discrimination. Many of them have been published in the New Hampshire reports, and are held in high estimation by the profession.

In 1823, Mr. Woodbury was elected governor of New Hampshire. When his term of office had expired, he again returned to the bar, where his assistance was sought from every quarter of the state.

In 1825 he was elected representative from the town of Portsmouth, to which place he had removed in 1819, upon his marriage with Miss Clapp, of Portland. On the meeting of the legislature he was chosen speaker of the house of representatives; and near the close of the session was elected a member of the senate of the United States.

At the commencement of the session of 1825–6, Mr. Woodbury took his seat in the senate. During the six years succeeding, his name was connected with the most important measures discussed in that body. At his first session, he took a decided part in the debate upon the Panama mission; a subject of universal interest at that time. To enumerate the various subjects upon which he offered his opinions at length, with great force and eloquence, would require us to transcribe the lists of the more important reports and bills before the senate. For four successive sessions, he was chairman of the committee on commerce, in which capacity his report and speeches upon the Delaware breakwater, upon discriminating duties, and upon the West India trade, were considered as displaying uncommon ability. He was also a member of the committee upon agriculture, from which he made a much esteemed report against the salt duty. Upon the committee of naval affairs, he was long an active and useful member.

He was also placed upon various important select committees. Of that upon the petition of the surviving officers of the army of the revolution, composed of Messrs. Webster, Van Buren, Hayne, and Harrison, he was chosen chairman; and his report and speeches upon that subject placed the claims of that gallant band in the strongest light. Upon the report of the select committee raised on the concerns of the general post office, he was distinguished for his eloquence, as well as upon the bankrupt bill, and upon Mr. Foote's resolutions relative to the public lands.

For several sessions, Mr. Woodbury served upon the joint committee on the library of congress. His extensive acquaintance with general literature peculiarly fitted him for the duties of this situation. To his enlarged and systematic views as to the proper mode of filling up that collection, it is generally understood, it owes much of its utility and prosperity.

During his whole period of service in the senate, important duties devolved on Mr. Woodbury in his own state. At the intervals of the sessions of congress, he continued to be employed as counsel in the most important causes before the superior court. Such heavy sacrifices, both of pecuniary emolument and of domestic comfort, were demanded by these periodical absences from home, that on the approach of a new election of senator, in 1830, he addressed a letter to the governor, containing a request that it might be communicated to the legislature, declining a reëlection.

The term for which Mr. Woodbury was elected to the senate of the United States, expired on the 4th of March, 1830. At the annual state election, held on the eighth of March, some days afterwards, he was chosen a senator in the state legislature, for the district in which he resided.

His numerous friends at home, at that time expected that he would thenceforward remain among them. But on the reörganization of the cabinet, in the month of April following, he was invited by President Jackson to become a member of his cabinet, as secretary of the navy. This invitation he found it impossible to decline. He accordingly signified his non-acceptance of the office of state senator, and forthwith returned to Washington and entered upon the duties of his office.

In the execution of these duties, Mr. WOODBURY has manifested his characteristic industry, zeal, and spirit of systematic arrangement. The officers of the navy feel assured, that so far as it depends on the head of the department, the most rigid justice will be exercised in the distribution of their proportional burdens and privileges. The whole course of Mr. WOODBURY in public office, whether as judge, governor, senator, or secretary of the navy, has been distinguished for his energetic and fearless discharge of duty,—for his unwearied endeavors to ascertain with accuracy what that duty required, and for his disregard of labor, expense, or comfort, in fulfilling his public avocations with promptitude and impartiality.

In a sketch like the present, the agreeable manners and the colloquial powers of Mr. WOODBURY can be but alluded to. In private life, his tastes and habits have led him to the extensive cultivation of science and literature. He was one of the earliest members of the New Hampshire Historical Society, to whose published collections he has been a contributor; he is also a member of several other scientific and literary societies of our country.

In the intercourse of men of letters, as well as in the discharge of those public duties which have devolved upon him, he has exhibited the same admirable traits of character.

To what point soever his attention has been turned, it has been his first object so to view it, that his aim might be directed with a clear eye and steady hand. He has not looked for success at any time, until he faithfully applied his earnest efforts. Calm reflection, persevering assiduity, a judicious method, both in his private studies and his official engagements, and, above all, a resolute and intrepid adherence to whatever he has conscientiously believed his duty, have enabled him to go forward, with a firm and sure step, to the elevation of honor and public trust where he now stands.

The contemplation of a character like that of Mr. WOODBURY, affords a pleasing evidence, that, at least in our happy land, rich rewards await a course of honorable exertion. In our National Gallery may be found not a few men, who, by dint of talent, under the guidance of integrity and diligence, have risen from obscurity to distinction, and won immortal honors for themselves and our country.

There is an eloquence in such examples, which ought by all means to be consecrated to the public welfare. On every occasion, therefore, as the editors of a national work, we shall cheerfully do our part toward the attainment of this object. And while we faithfully keep in mind the Roman patriot's injunction, we shall zealously urge it also on our fellow-citizens:—Perpetuate the memory of those men who are our nation's pride; and the record of their talents and their toils shall be a precious boon to you and to posterity. "*Conservate reipublicæ civem bonarum artium, bonarum partium, bonorum virorum; quem si vobis, si reipublicæ conservatis, addictum, deditum, constrictum vobis ac liberis vestris habebitis: omniumque hujus nervorum ac laborum vos potissimum fructus uberes diuturnosque capietis.*"

MRS. MARCIA VAN NESS.

If "a brave man struggling with the storms of fate," be one of the sublimest moral spectacles, one of the most beautiful is that of a good, amiable, and accomplished woman, who performs her social duties according to her rank, and especially those of domestic life, with grace and dignity. And if a woman, to the virtues of her own sex, unites the energy of the other—extends her usefulness beyond the limits of her household, and by her example, means, and exertions, benefits a great community, she becomes at once an object of public interest; and the sex have a right to require that the *golden list* should be swelled by another *name* to which they may point with pride and exultation.

For this reason we commit to publicity the name of Mrs. Marcia Van Ness, careful, in speaking of her, to observe that simplicity which accords with her character.

She was born on the banks of the Potomac, in the state of Maryland, on a large and valuable plantation, within the original limits of which is now embraced a great part of the American metropolis, and of which she, at an early age, became the sole heiress. Her paternal great-grandfather, emigrated from North Britain. Her father, David Burns, Esq., was heir at law to the family estate, was a civil magistrate of the county, and was respected and esteemed for his hospitality and other virtues. Her mother was of a highly respectable family of the neighboring country, named White. The daughter was soon distinguished by her sprightliness and fancy, which, when not saddened by affliction, continued to characterize her throughout life. When at maturity, her form, rather below the common height, was light and graceful; her face, without being formally handsome, was of uncommon loveliness, with that mixture of innocence and archness so much admired and rarely seen; the *tout ensemble* yielding that interesting expression which may be called the essence of beauty; add a penetrating mind, engaging and unaffected manners, and the accomplishments of an excellent education, and it will be admitted that in her case, virtue had chosen to appear in the most agreeable shape.

After preparatory education at the best school in Georgetown,—where she was associated in her juvenile years with the most respectable of her sex and age, many of whom are now on the stage of life in the vicinity, and recollect with pleasure the prepossessing interest of her early youth,—she was sent to Baltimore for the completion of her studies, and became an inmate in the family of the celebrated Luther Martin, Esq., a particular friend of her father, and then at the height of his professional fame as a jurist and an advocate. The female family of this gentleman consisted of his wife, a most interesting and accomplished woman, and several daughters, with whom the subject of this memoir was a constant associate at the best boarding-school, and in the best society in Baltimore. The habitual conversation of Mr. Martin, then distinguished in politics as well as in the forum, contributed, no doubt, to fan that flame of public spirit which never glowed in human breast more brightly, and at the same time mellowly, than in her's, and prepared her to take an interest in those great public questions, in which we are pleased to see our fair friends more and more inclined to exert an influence, and take a part not inconsistent, however, with that delicacy and those feelings which preëminently adorn the sex.

A woman is seldom placed in a position to achieve great actions; the more sedulously should she prepare herself, and be prepared by her friends, for the performance of her more appropriate duties—those sweet and tender charities of life, which, "like the gentle dew of heaven," prove more precious to society, a thousand fold, than exploits, "*lights* flashing through the northern sky," which seem meant only to be gazed at. Of such useless exploits there are none to offer in this sketch. No modern Semiramis do we attempt to present to an astonished and subjected world—no Elizabeth, who, by the masculine ambition and relentless rigor of her character acquired a fame, perhaps less to be envied by her own sex than by ours—no Madame de Stael with her affectation or reality of literary, or political greatness; but the friends of virtue will listen to a few remarks illustrative of the character of one, who uniformly held the onward path of goodness with untiring steps, filled the measure of her duties to overflowing, and whose actions did not less "point the moral and adorn the tale," in an extensive public sphere, than those loftier adventures which have fallen to the lot of some others.

Miss Burns had a brother older than herself, a fine young man, who was successfully studying law in Mr. Martin's office, at the same time that *she* was in his family. This young gentleman died before he was licensed. Soon after her return from Baltimore, in 1799 or 1800, to her family residence, her father died, leaving a widow and his daughter, then an only child. From her other advantages, and the splendor of her fortune, she soon became an object of interest and attention; idolized by her mother, and universally sought and admired.

This was about the period when the government was removed to Washington; an event that brought with it a great influx of genteel society from all parts of the country, as well as from abroad, with which she was in the constant habit of associating.

On the 9th of May, 1802, the anniversary of her birthday, she was, at the age of twenty, united in wedlock to the Honorable John P. Van Ness, member of congress from his native state, New York. Although a member of one of the ancient, respectable, and numerous families of that state, and, of course, having many strong ties and relations there, he, from the moment of his marriage, became a resident of Washington—thus yielding, too, his political, to his domestic prospects: since which he has enjoyed the highest municipal honors which the political condition of the district of Columbia affords; and is now one of the fathers of the place in which he thus acquired so valuable a stake. This choice did not fail to be gratifying to Mrs. VAN NESS, who found in him, besides, a uniformly affectionate and devoted husband, and a kind son to her aged and beloved mother.

In the year 1803, their union was blessed with the birth of a daughter, the only child they ever had. She soon became every thing her fond parents could desire. They bestowed upon her the most finished education; she was the ornament and delight of society. "All the anxious feelings of a devoted mother prompted her to labor most assiduously to impress the mind and imbue the heart of her daughter, as she rose into life, with the solemn concerns of eternity; and in this, with the blessing of God, she happily succeeded:"* and from this, as well as other sources, Mrs. VAN NESS, during the course of twenty years ensuing, derived a felicity seldom attainable on earth—seldom so gratefully acknowledged to the giver of all good things. Her gratitude, which she was always anxious to manifest, increased with her prosperity, which had but one drawback—the delicate state of her.

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* Rev. Mr. Hawley's funeral discourse.

husband's health. But as his attacks, though severe, were short, and the intervals considerable, her anxieties were relieved, and her cares repaid by seeing him return, with renewed activity, to those pursuits, no less of public utility than private emolument, to which his life has been zealously devoted. Her chief enjoyment seemed to consist in making others share the blessings with which she was herself surrounded. Her house became the seat of an elegant hospitality, where abundance reigned without profusion, and a refined society, without the frivolities of fashion. As a hostess, indeed, perhaps none was ever more agreeable and popular. But she felt herself called upon to act a higher and nobler part in society. The virtues of an enlightened piety and seeking charity were always predominant with her. Through the whole circle in which she moved, was felt the genial influence of her example and exertions. To the chosen few who enjoyed her intimacy, she gave a thousand proofs of the warmth, the truth, the delicacy of her attachment. But she widened the sphere of her affections, and became "the general friend," the mediator, the counsellor, of all within her reach. Was a work of piety or benevolence in contemplation? Her hand and tongue were always the foremost to advance it. In the chamber of the mourner, at the bed of the sick, in the cabin of the destitute, who was always seen the first? From whose looks and sympathies did the afflicted always draw the sweetest comfort? In short, the strictness with which she discharged her religious and moral duties was almost unexampled. But all this cost her heart no troublesome effort. Her piety began spontaneously with love and reverence for her Creator, and ended in good works towards his creatures. Much of her time was appropriated to reading, generally books of a serious character, though occasionally relieved by those of a lighter class. Although she considered the grave and sober duties of religion and humanity as preëminent, she was not insensible to or averse from the innocent amusements and recreations of life. She happily blended them, both being always made the sources or instruments of moral and intellectual enjoyment. A sound judgment, and a correct taste, equally distinguished her. Whilst she discriminated judiciously between the comparative merits of the moral objects of her benevolence and care, she relished physical beauties in a high degree; whether it was the sublime aspect of a richly variegated sky; or the less exalted scenery of the lofty mountain or tremendous cataract; or the beautiful tree, shrub, or flower of the forest or the valley—all were considered by her as designed by the Creator, for the rational enjoyment or admiration of his creatures. A portion of her time was agreeably spent in directing and superintending the cultivation of flowers and plants. There is scarcely a spot in Mansion Square, that does not bear testimony of her taste and attention. Extending the same principle to the works of art, she exercised her taste in, and derived great pleasure from them also. Her house was filled with elegant specimens of the best masters in painting, sculpture, engraving, &c.

Much of a woman's character is developed in her treatment of her servants. Morning and evening she summoned the whole corps, and joined with them in prayer and other devout exercises. Besides providing for them liberally, she allowed them all reasonable opportunities for innocent relaxation and enjoyment, consistent with their condition.

To speak of the conduct and character of a wife when the husband is survivor, must always be a matter of much delicacy. But this much we must say, that a union for upwards of thirty years, in unabated attachment and uninterrupted harmony, between two individuals of unusual energy of character and vivacity of disposition, proves something more than negative merit on both sides. Her gentleness, be it remembered, was not a constitutional passiveness of temper. It was the result of a combination of amiability, good sense, self-discipline, and patience. If ever, on topics of particular interest, there was about her a momentary appearance of abruptness or harshness of manner or expression, it was not characterized by rudeness or want of courtesy; it was the manifest effect of a sternness of principle, and far from being offensive, it increased respect, without diminishing esteem. Mr. Hawley, in his funeral discourse upon the occasion of her death, justly observes, "her uniform candor and sincerity, her decision of character, her principles of independence and integrity, uncompromising with the least approach to vice or immorality, formed a combination of virtues seldom found in the same individual."

As a mother, Mrs. Van Ness accomplished a task which may well be reckoned arduous—to bring up, *without spoiling*, an only and adored child, one in whom the respected author above referred to, truly and emphatically remarked, "her parents lived." In the year 1820, the daughter, Ann Elbertina Van Ness, returned from Philadelphia, whither she had been sent to finish her education, and shortly afterwards she was allowed to engage herself to Arthur

Middleton, Jr. Esq., (now secretary of legation at the court of Madrid,) of South Carolina, eldest son of Governor Middleton, and grandson of one of the signers of the declaration of American independence; to whom she was married, in 1822.

Henceforth, Mrs. Van Ness was destined to see less of her daughter. After a few months, accompanied by her husband, she visited his friends in Carolina. Shortly after her return to Washington, in giving birth to a daughter, she fell a victim to a malignant fever, which had already proved fatal to many other ladies of the district, in a similar situation, and with her infant of a day old, was consigned to the cold mansions of the grave.

From this shock Mrs. Van Ness never recovered. Of the beautiful and charming young woman just referred to, we might say, if we obeyed our impulses, more than the occasion may appear to warrant; yet something must be said, though it be only to justify the absorbing love of such a mother, and to account, perhaps, more rationally, for the extraordinary influence on the mother, produced by the loss of a daughter. Mrs. Middleton was, we repeat, an only child, "steeped to the very lips" in flattery and blandishments, which on her pure soul "ne'er left a spot or stain behind." She was a pattern of gentleness and truth; and her face was really the mirror of the mind within.

"On her smooth forehead, you might see expressed,
The even calmness of her gentle breast."

Her attractions, talents, and accomplishments served but to lend a grace to the noble qualities of her heart. Although she was the centre of a circle composed of the gay, the refined, and exalted in rank, both foreign and American, the radii of her virtues and feelings extended in all directions to the humble objects of want. Her heart and her hand were equally open to them. The confidence she inspired, was instantaneous. But what rivetted the esteem and admiration of her friends, was that generous and feeling soul which "looked through her eyes and spoke in every action."

After the death of her daughter, Mrs. Van Ness bade adieu to the gayeties of life, in which she had till then been a partaker; but her sorrow, though profound, had nothing in it complaining or repining. It touched one more from the gentle equanimity with which she bore it. If ever a momentary gloom enveloped her, it was promptly dispelled by the reflection that cheerfulness is among the Christian duties. "I feel," she often said, "that this trial will be good for me.

My thoughts will now turn still oftener to my Maker, my husband, my friends, and my fellow creatures."

Indeed, affliction seemed to add fresh vigor to her virtues. She became, if possible, a still more devoted wife; and presently was blessed with the restoration of her husband's health. To her son-in-law, she transferred the fondness she had shewn to her own child; and to all her friends, and every object of benevolence and charity, her attention and devotedness greatly increased. Her's was a heart that prosperity could never harden, nor adversity rob of its energy in her laudable pursuits.

And now it was that she specially devoted herself with redoubled zeal to what had long been one of the dear objects of her affection. THE WASHINGTON CITY ORPHAN ASYLUM. This valuable institution, Mrs. VAN NESS, with the aid of several benevolent ladies in Washington, had originated many years before. Mrs. Madison, a name dear to its citizens, was first *directress* during the presidency of her husband—a station which, after her departure, Mrs. VAN NESS held with but little interruption, (and that earnestly solicited on her part,) to the day of her death. Her donations to this interesting charity were munificent; her personal attentions unremitting. She became as a mother to all its children, who have been generally advantageously provided for, and many respectably connected in life at the proper age; and when a classic monument (built in imitation of the beautiful temple whose ruins still adorn the site of modern *Tivoli*) was erected to the memory of her daughter, Mrs. VAN NESS, perhaps thinking it rather ostentatious, determined to hallow it by associations more affecting than any that could spring from the most finished works of art. Beside the grave of her child she, aided as before remarked, raised up a spacious asylum building for the destitute orphan, cheering as it were, the darkness of the tomb with a light which will shine throughout ages. For a succession of years she was never more assiduously and agreeably employed than in carrying into full effect, by her own personal exertions, and the other means in her power, (always seconded by a wealthy, liberal, and sympathizing husband,) the design of this eleemosynary establishment, which had several years ago been incorporated by an act of congress, and afterwards handsomely endowed by them. But owing to a constitutional delicacy, frequently aggravated by fatigue in laborious duties of humanity, her health had long been infirm. She had repeated attacks of fever, which at length admonished her and her friends, that her earthly career was drawing to a close.

On the 9th of September, 1832, after a painful and protracted illness, aged fifty years and four months, she was called from the stage on which she had acted so well the part allotted her. We must draw the curtain over the closing scene; remarking only that after having taken an affectionate leave of all about her, and having in a most emphatic and impressive manner bestowed her dying blessing on her husband, who was kneeling and weeping at her bed side, and whom she addressed, (laying her hand upon his head,) in these words, "Heaven bless *you*, my dear husband, never mind *me*," she expired. To the last moment of consciousness, she expressed her faith and resignation to her God and Saviour.

The departure of her pure spirit cast a gloom around. Many a tear was shed upon her bier. Few hearts, if any, remained untouched by the bereavement. The sense of it may, in some degree, be appreciated by the general attendance at her funeral of all classes of that extensive community, which never withheld from her while living its respect and acknowledgment for her public as well as private virtues; by the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of Washington, and those of various societies, upon the distressing occasion; by the almost unprecedented tributes of public sympathy and private grief recorded in many public prints, in the form of obituary notices, at a distance, where she was known only by character, as well as at her own door; and, lastly, by the numerous letters of condolence and sympathy addressed to her bereaved husband.

She was laid by the side of her daughter and grandchild in the family vault, beneath the monument already alluded to, on Mausoleum Square, which daily echoes to the innocent and grateful voices of the orphans to whom she had proved a parent and protectress; and who, with streaming eyes, amidst the immense surrounding multitude, performed the melancholy task of singing an appropriate hymn to her departed spirit.

After her death, the board of managers procured and placed in the Asylum, at their own individual expense, a full length portrait of her, by King, from an original painting by Alexander. It represents her in a sitting posture, with three little girls claiming her maternal kindness and protection; one of whom reclines its head on her lap, with tears trickling down its cheeks; the others regarding, with invoking interest, the benignity of the countenance above. The painter has done the subject so much justice, that it is difficult to behold it without the tribute of a tear.

NOAH WEBSTER.

The name of Noah Webster is familiar to almost the entire population of our country, as associated with the period of their first instruction in the rudiments of knowledge. As an author he has acted an important part, in laying the foundation of American literature; and as a devoted friend to the institutions of his country, he has consecrated the best efforts of his genius, in some of the most trying exigencies of our government, to the promotion of domestic quiet and national security. In the following sketch, a brief outline will be given of the leading occurrences of his life, with particular reference to the occasions which called forth the principal productions of his pen.

Noah Webster was born in West Hartford, Connecticut, on the 16th of October, 1758. His father was a respectable farmer and justice of the peace; and was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of John Webster, one of the first settlers of Hartford, who was a magistrate, or member of the colonial council from its first formation, and, at a subsequent period, governor of Connecticut. His mother was a descendant of William Bradford, the second governor of the Plymouth colony.

Mr. Webster commenced the study of the classics, in the year 1772, under the instruction of the clergyman of the place, the Rev. Nathan Perkins, D. D., and in 1774, was admitted a member of Yale college. The war of the revolution commencing the next year, interrupted the regular attendance of the students on their usual exercises, and deprived them of no small part of the advantages of a collegiate course of instruction. In his Junior year, when the western part of New England was thrown into confusion by General Burgoyne's expedition from Canada, Mr. Webster volunteered his services under the command of his father, who was captain in the *alarm list*, a body comprising those of the militia who were above forty-five years of age, and who were called into the field only on pressing emergencies. In that campaign, all the males of the family, four in number, were in the army at the same time.

Notwithstanding the interruption of his studies by these causes, Mr. Webster graduated with reputation in 1778. This was an unpropitious time for a young man to be cast upon the world without property. The country was impoverished by the war to a degree of which it is difficult, at the present day, to form any just conception; there was no prospect of peace; the issue of the contest was felt by the most sanguine to be extremely doubtful; and the practice of the law, which Mr. Webster intended to pursue, was in a great measure set aside by the general calamity. It was under these circumstances, that his father, on his return from the Commencement when he graduated, gave him an eight dollar bill of the continental currency, (then worth about a dollar in silver,) and told him that he must thenceforth rely on his own exertions for support. As a means of immediate subsistence, he resorted to the instruction of a school, and during the summer of 1779, resided at Hartford, Connecticut, in the family of Mr., afterwards Chief Justice, Ellsworth. An intimate friendship was thus formed between these two gentlemen, which was interrupted only by the death of the Chief Justice.

Not having the means of obtaining a regular education for the bar, Mr. Webster, at the suggestion of a distinguished counsellor of his acquaintance, determined to pursue the study of the law in the intervals of his regular employment, without the aid of an instructor; and having presented himself for examination, at the expiration of two years, was admitted to practice in the year 1781. As he had no encouragement to open an office in the existing state of the country, he resumed the business of instruction, and taught a classical school, in 1782, at Goshen, in Orange county, New York. Here, in a desponding state of mind, created by the unsettled condition of things at the close of the war, and the gloomy prospects for business, he undertook an employment which gave a complexion to his whole future life. This was the compilation of books for the instruction of youth in schools. Having prepared the first draft of an elementary treatise of this kind, he made a journey to Philadelphia in the autumn of the same year; and after exhibiting a specimen of the work to several members of Congress, among whom was Mr. Madison, and to the Rev. S. S. Smith, D. D., at that time a professor, and afterwards president, of the college at Princeton, he was encouraged by their approbation to prosecute his design. Accordingly, in the winter following, he revised what he had written, and leaving Goshen, in 1783, he returned to Hartford, where he published his

"*First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language.*" The second and third parts were published in the years immediately following. These works, comprising a spelling book, an English grammar, and a compilation for reading, were the first books of the kind published in the United States. They were gradually introduced into most of the schools of our country; and to so great an extent has the spelling book been used, that during the twenty years in which he was employed in compiling his American Dictionary, the entire support of his family was derived from the profits of this work, at a premium for copy-right, of less than a cent a copy. Between thirteen and fourteen millions of this book have been published, in the different forms which it assumed under the revision of its author; and its popularity has gone on increasing to the present time. To its influence, probably, more than to any other cause, are we indebted for that remarkable uniformity of pronunciation in our country, which is so often spoken of with surprise by English travellers.

In entering thus early on his literary career, Mr. WEBSTER did not confine himself to the publication of his own works. At a period when nothing had as yet been done to perpetuate the memorials of our early history, he led the way in this important branch of literary effort, by the publication of that highly valuable and characteristic work, Governor Winthrop's Journal. Having learnt that a manuscript copy was in the possession of Governor Trumbull, he caused it to be transcribed, at his own expense, by the governor's private secretary; and risked more than the amount of his whole property in its publication. The sale never remunerated him for the expenses thus incurred.

At the period of Mr. WEBSTER'S return to Hartford, in 1783, the state was agitated by violent dissentions, on the subject of a grant made by congress to the army, of half pay for life, which was afterwards commuted for a grant of full pay for five years beyond their term of service. To this grant it was strongly objected, that if the army had suffered by the reduced value of the bills in which they were paid, the country at large had sustained an equal loss by the depreciation of the currency, and by other causes. So strong was the excitement on this subject, that public meetings were held throughout the state, to prevent the laws of congress from being carried into effect, and at length a convention met at Middletown with the same design, at which two thirds of the towns in Connecticut were represented. In this state of things, Mr. WEBSTER, though only twenty-five years of age, came forward to vindicate the measures of congress; and wrote a series of papers on the subject under the signature of Honorius, which were published in the Connecticut Courant, and read extensively throughout the state. The effect was great. At the next election, in April, 1784, a large majority of the legislature were supporters of congress in their measures. So highly were Mr. Webster's services appreciated on this occasion, that he received the thanks of Governor Trumbull in person, and was publicly declared by a member of the council, to have "done more to allay popular discontent, and support the authority of congress at this crisis, than any other man."

These occurrences in his native state, together with the distress and stagnation of business in the whole country, resulting from the want of power in congress to carry its measures into effect, and to secure to the people the benefits of a stable government, convinced Mr. Webster, that the old confederation, after the dangers of the war were past, was utterly inadequate to the necessities of the people. He therefore published a pamphlet in the winter of 1784–5, entitled "*Sketches of American Policy*," in which, after treating of the general principles of government, he endeavored to prove, that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare and safety of the United States, to establish a new system of government, *which should act not on the states, but directly on individuals, and vest in congress full power to carry its laws into effect.* Being on a journey to the southern states, in May, 1785, he went to Mount Vernon, and presented a copy of this pamphlet to General Washington. It contained, the writer believes, the first distinct proposal made through the medium of the press, for a new constitution of the United States.

One object of Mr. Webster's journey to the south was, to petition the state legislatures for the enactment of a law, securing to authors an exclusive right to the publication of their writings. In this he succeeded to a considerable extent; and the public attention was thus called to a provision for the support of American literature, which was rendered more effectual by a general copy-right law, enacted by congress soon after the formation of our government. At a much later period (in the years 1830–31,) Mr. Webster passed a winter at Washington, with the single view of endeavoring to procure an alteration of the existing law, which should *extend* the term of copy-right, and thus give a more ample reward to the labors of our artists and literary men. In this design he succeeded; and an act was passed more liberal in its provisions than the former law, though less so, than the laws of some European governments on this subject.

On his return from the south, Mr. Webster spent the summer of 1785, at Baltimore, and employed his time in preparing a course of lectures on the English language, which were delivered during the year 1786, in the principal Atlantic cities, and were published in 1789, in an octavo volume, with the title of "*Dissertations on the English Language.*"

The year 1787 was spent by Mr. Webster at Philadelphia, as superintendent of an Episcopal academy. The convention which framed the present constitution of the United States, were in session at Philadelphia during a part of this year; and when their labors were closed, Mr. Webster was solicited by Mr. Fitzsimmons, one of the members, to give the aid of his pen in recommending the new system of government to the people. He accordingly wrote a pamphlet on this subject, entitled an "*Examination of the leading principles of the Federal Constitution.*"

In 1788, Mr. Webster attempted to establish a periodical in New York, and for one year published the American Magazine, which, however, failed of success; as did also an attempt to combine the efforts of other gentlemen in a similar undertaking. The country was not yet prepared for such a work.

In 1789, when the prospects of business became more encouraging, after the adoption of the new constitution, Mr. Webster married a daughter of William Greenleaf, Esq., of Boston, and established himself at Hartford in the practice of the law, which he pursued for some years with increasing success.

This employment he was induced to relinquish, in 1793, by an interesting crisis in public affairs. General Washington's celebrated *proclamation of neutrality*, rendered necessary by the efforts of the French minister, Genet, to raise troops in our country for the invasion of Louisiana, and to fit out privateers against nations at peace with the United States, had called forth the most bitter reproaches of the partisans of France; and it was even doubtful, for a time, whether the unbounded popularity of the Father of his country, could repress the public effervescence in favor of embarking in the wars of the French revolution. In this state of things, Mr. Webster was strongly solicited to give the support of his pen to the measures of the administration, by establishing a daily paper in the city of New York. Though conscious of the sacrifice of personal ease which he was called upon to make, he was so strongly impressed with the dangers of the crisis, and so entirely devoted to the principles of Washington, that he did not hesitate to accede to the proposal. Removing his family to New York in November, 1793, he commenced a daily paper under the title of the *Minerva*, and afterwards a semi-weekly paper, with that of the *Herald*, names which were subsequently changed to those of the *Commercial Advertiser*, and *New York Spectator*. This was the first example of a paper for the country, composed of the columns of a daily paper, without recomposition, a practice which has now become very common. In addition to his labors as sole editor of these papers, Mr. Webster published, in the year 1794, a pamphlet, which had a very extensive circulation, entitled "*The Revolution in France.*"

The publication of the treaty negotiated with Great Britain by Mr. Jay, in 1795, aroused an opposition to its ratification of so violent a nature as to stagger for a time the firmness of Washington, and to threaten civil commotions. Mr. Webster, in common with General Hamilton, and some of the ablest men of the country, came out in vindication of the treaty. Under the signature of Curtius, he published a series of papers which were very extensively reprinted throughout the country, and afterwards collected by a bookseller of Philadelphia, in a pamphlet form. Of these, ten were contributed by himself, and two by Mr., afterwards Chancellor, Kent. As an evidence of their effect, it may not be improper to state, that Mr. Rufus King expressed his opinion to Mr. Jay, that the essays of Curtius had contributed more than any other papers of the same kind, to allay the discontent and opposition to the treaty; assigning as a reason, that they were peculiarly well adapted to the understanding of the people at large.

During the residence of Mr. Webster in New York, the yellow fever prevailed at different times in most of our large Atlantic cities; and a controversy arose among the physicians of Philadelphia and New York, on the question whether it was introduced by infection, or generated on the spot. The subject interested Mr. Webster deeply, and led him into a laborious investigation of the history of pestilential diseases at every period of the world. The facts which he collected, with the inferences to which he was led, were embodied in a work of two volumes, octavo, which, in 1799, was published both in this country, and in England. This work has always been considered as a valuable repository of facts; and since the prevalence of the cholera, the theories of the author seem to have received so much confirmation, as to excite a more than ordinary interest in the work, both in Europe and America. It is understood, that a gentleman from Hamburgh is employed in translating it into the German language.

During the wars which were excited by the French revolution, the power assumed by the belligerents to blockade their enemies' ports by proclamation, and the multiplied seizures of American vessels bound to such ports, produced various discussions respecting the rights of neutral nations in time of war. These discussions induced Mr. WEBSTER to examine the subject historically; and in 1802, he published a treatise full of minute information and able reasoning on the subject. A gentleman of competent abilities, who said he had read all that he could find on that subject, in the English, French, German, and Italian languages, declared that he considered this treatise as the best he had seen. The same year he also published "*Historical Notices of the origin and state of Banking Institutions, and Insurance Offices,*" which was republished in Philadelphia by one Humphrey, without giving credit to the author; and a part of which, taken from this reprint, was incorporated into the Philadelphia edition of Rees' Cyclopædia.

At this time Mr. WEBSTER resided at New Haven, to which place he removed in the spring of 1798. For a short period after his departure from New York, he wrote for the papers mentioned above, which, although placed under the care of another editor, continued for a time to be his property. He very soon succeeded, however, in disposing of his interest in them; and from that time devoted himself entirely to literary pursuits.

In 1807, he entered on the great work of his life, which he had contemplated for many years, that of compiling a new and complete dictionary of the English language. As preliminary to this, he had published, in 1806, a dictionary in the octavo form, containing a large number of words not to be found in any similar work, with the definitions corrected throughout, though necessarily expressed in very brief terms. From this time, his reading was turned more or less directly to this object. A number of years were spent in collecting words which had not been introduced into the English dictionaries; in discriminating with exactness the various senses of all the words in our language, and adding those significations which they had recently received. Some estimate may be formed of the labor bestowed on this part of the work, from the fact, that "*The American Dictionary of the English Language*" contains twelve thousand words, and between thirty and forty thousand definitions, which are not to be found in any preceding work. Seventy years had elapsed since the publication of Johnson's Dictionary; and scarcely a single improvement had been attempted in the various editions through which it had passed, or the numerous compilations to which it had given rise, except by the addition of a few words to the vocabulary. Yet in this period, the English mind was putting itself forth in every direction, with an accuracy of research, and a fertility of invention which are without a parallel in any other stage of its history. A complete revolution had taken place in almost every branch of physical science; new departments had been created, new principles developed, new modes of classification and description adopted. The political changes which so signally marked that period; the excitement of feeling and conflict of opinion resulting from the American and French revolutions; and the numerous modifications which followed in the institutions of society, had also left a deep impress on the language of politics, law, and general literature. Under these circumstances, to make a defining dictionary adapted to the present state of our language, was to produce an entirely *new work;* and how well Mr. WEBSTER executed the task, will appear from the decision of men best qualified to judge, both in this country and in Europe, who have declared that his improvements upon Johnson are even greater than Johnson himself made on those who preceded him. Still more labor, however, was bestowed on another part of the work, viz., the etymology of our leading terms. In this subject, Mr. WEBSTER had always felt a lively interest, as presenting one of the most curious exhibitions of the progress of the human mind. But it was not till he had advanced considerably in the work as originally commenced, that he found how indispensable a knowledge of the true derivation of words is, to an exact development of their various meanings. At this point, therefore, he suspended his labors on the defining part of the dictionary, and devoted a number of years to an inquiry into the origin of our language, and its connexion with those of other countries. In the course of these researches, he examined the vocabularies of twenty of the principal languages of the world, and made a synopsis of the most important words in each; arranging them under the same radical letters, with a translation of their significations, and references from one to another, when the senses are the same or similar. He was thus enabled to discover the real or probable affinities between the different languages; and in many instances, to discover the primary, physical idea of an original word, from which the secondary senses have branched forth. Being thus furnished with a clew to guide him among the numerous, and often apparently inconsistent significations of our most important words, he resumed his labors on the defining part of the dictionary, and was able to give order and consistency to much that had before appeared confused and contradictory. The results of his inquiries into the origin and filiation of languages, were embodied in a work about half the size of the American dictionary, entitled "*A Synopsis of Words in Twenty Languages.*" This, owing to the expense of the undertaking, has not yet been published; though its principal results so far as our language is concerned, are briefly given in tracing the etymology of our leading terms.

During the progress of these labors, Mr. Webster, finding his resources inadequate to the support of his family at New Haven, removed, in 1812, to Amherst, a pleasant country town within eight miles of Northampton, Massachusetts. Here he entered, with his characteristic ardor, into the literary and social interests of the people among whom he was placed. His extensive library, which was open to all, and his elevated tone of thought and conversation, had naturally a powerful influence on the habits and feelings of a small and secluded population. It was owing in part, probably, to his removal to this town, that an academy was there established, which is now among the most flourishing seminaries of our land. A question having soon after arisen, respecting the removal of Williams college from a remote corner of the state, to some more central position, Mr. Webster entered warmly into the design of procuring its establishment at Amherst, as one of the most beautiful and appropriate locations in New England. Though the removal did not take place, so strong an interest on the subject was awakened in Amherst and the neighboring towns, that a new college was soon after founded there, in the establishment of which Mr. Webster, as president of its first board of trustees, had great influence, both by his direct exertions to secure it patronage, and by the impulse which he had given to the cause of education in that part of the state. This institution now stands third in numbers among the colleges of our country.

In 1822, Mr. Webster returned with his family to New Haven; and in 1823, received the degree of LL. D., from Yale college. Having nearly completed his dictionary, he resolved on a voyage to Europe, with a view to perfect the work by consulting literary men abroad, and by examining some standard authors, to which he could not gain access in this country. He accordingly sailed for France in June, 1824, and spent two months at Paris in consulting several rare works in the Bibliothèque du Roi, and then went to England, where he remained till May, 1825. He spent several months at the University of Cambridge, where he had free access to the public libraries, and there he finished "*the American Dictionary.*" He afterwards visited London, Oxford, and some of the other principal towns of England, and in June, returned to this country. This visit to England gave him an opportunity to become acquainted with literary men and literary institutions in that country, and to learn the real state of the English language there.

Soon after Dr. WEBSTER returned to this country, the necessary arrangements were made for the publication of the work. An edition of twenty-five hundred copies was printed in this country, at the close of 1828, which was followed by an edition of three thousand in England, under the superintendence of E. H. Barker Esq., editor of the Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ of Henry Stephens. With the publication of the AMERICAN DICTIONARY, at the age of seventy, Dr. WEBSTER considered the labors of his literary life as brought to a close. He has since revised a few of his earlier works for publication; and spent a number of months in superintending a new edition of the Bible, in which some phraseology of the common version, which is offensive to delicacy, is altered; and some antiquated terms and forms of expression are changed, in accordance with present usage. His revisions have met with the approbation of many persons who have examined the work; and if there is any name in our country which will give currency to such an amendment of the common version, it is that of the author of the AMERICAN DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

CASPAR WISTAR, M.D.

Among the individuals of our country, whose talents and example have been most serviceable in establishing the profession of medicine on its present footing, may be ranked without fear of contradiction, the late Professor **Wistar**. As a disinterested and faithful physician, an ardent lover of the sciences, an indefatigable teacher, and a genuine philanthropist, his character may always be examined with pleasure and instruction.

Dr. **Wistar** was of German descent on the father's side, being the grandson of Caspar Wistar, who emigrated from the dominions of the Elector Palatine in 1717. On the maternal side he was of English origin, his grandfather, Bartholomew Wyatt, having reached this country shortly after William Penn had commenced the settlement of Pennsylvania. His father was a man of great firmness of character, and bestowed much pains on the moral and religious training of his children.

The subject of this notice was born in Philadephia, September 13th, 1761. His parents being of the religious Society of Friends, he was educated in the principles of that sect. His classical studies were also accomplished in an academy in Philadelphia belonging to them.

The first germs of fondness for the profession of medicine, were evolved in 1777, when he was only sixteen years of age, by the battle of Germantown. His religious principles withheld him from participating in the conflict itself, but they, together with his native humanity, prompted him to succor the wounded with such kind offices and attention, as the horrors of a fight render doubly estimable. The benignant and useful character of the profession of medicine on this occasion, made such an impression upon him, that he determined thenceforth to devote himself to its interests. He accordingly entered as a student into the office of Dr. John Redman of Philadelphia, and continued upwards of three years; the concluding year of his attendance was improved by his following the practice of Dr. John Jones, an eminent surgeon, who had left New York in consequence of its occupation by the British. In 1782, he graduated as a Bachelor of Medicine in the college of Philadelphia, an institution to whose reputation he was destined to contribute so largely at a subsequent period of life. As a student, he was distinguished by his zeal, his assiduity, and the promptitude and extent of his information, qualities which were well exhibited on the day of his examination. At that period the profession of medicine was divided into two sects of theorists, one advocating the doctrine of Lentor, invented by Boerhaave, and the other that of Spasm, originating with the no less celebrated Professor of Edinburgh, Dr. Cullen. A schism on this subject existed in the faculty of the college of Philadelphia, and as each professor required explanations conformably to the theory he was attached to, our candidate had to vary his answers so as to suit the predilection of the interrogator. This delicate task he executed with so much address and good sense, as to excite the highest admiration of the audience.

From his own country, Dr. Wistar repaired to Great Britain, where he remained three years. In Edinburgh, then the chief resort of Americans, he became highly distinguished for the same qualities which he had exhibited at home. He was there the friend and associate of Sir James M'Intosh, afterwards one of the leading members of the British Parliament—of Mr. Emmett, subsequently one of the most powerful and eminent members of the New York bar, and of Dr. Jeffray, now professor of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow. In the collision of such talent, Dr. Wistar wielded with great effect the weapons of debate, and obtained in the midst of these competitors the high honor of being made, for two successive years, president of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. In 1786, he graduated there as doctor of medicine, having written a thesis, entitled *De Animo Demisso*. The chief objects of his studies were anatomy, surgery, and chemistry. In January, 1787, he returned home, having left in Edinburgh a name which was most affectionately and respectfully remembered for a long time afterwards.

In the year 1792, Dr. Wistar became the associate of Dr. Shippen, after the latter had stood alone for thirty years, in his efforts to create a permanent school. This union grew out of the existence, from 1789 to 1792, of two medical institutions; the most recent of which had its origin from feelings generated by the revolutionary war. One of these schools and the eldest belonged to the college of

Philadelphia, and the other to the university of the state of Pennsylvania. Dr. Shippen was professor of anatomy in both. In the year 1789, Dr. Wistar had been appointed professor of chemistry in the college; but before accepting, he hesitated much, lest by his acquiescence the consolidation of the two institutions, which he had much at heart, should be delayed or prevented. During his deliberations it occurred to him, that he could be much more efficient as a professor in procuring this union, than as a private individual; he therefore accepted the place of chemist, and in three years afterwards, had the satisfaction of seeing his wishes realized, and of reflecting that he himself had contributed largely, by his moderation and good management, to an arrangement which has since been so successful in developing the character and usefulness of the present institution, under the title of University of Pennsylvania.

Nature did not grant to Dr. Wistar that graceful and commanding exterior which she had lavished on Dr. Shippen, but even strangers were struck with the benignity of his countenance. Extreme suavity of deportment on every occasion of life, was his predominant mode of conduct. Many of his students remember the courteous and sprightly smile, with which he entered and departed from his lecture room. As a teacher, he allured them, by gentleness and affability, to flock round him on every occasion, and to ask him such questions as their want of information or misapprehension suggested. He was always on the alert to serve them in sickness, and to procure for them such places of profit and trust as his personal influence could control, but invariably, on such occasions, with a conscientious regard to his knowledge of their characters and to their qualifications. This principle of impartial, but merciful justice, always guided him in his decisions on the claims of candidates for medical degrees. Willing to attribute every deficiency to embarrassment, he only became convinced that it was ignorance, when every proper mode of inquiry repeatedly and leisurely tried, proved the incapacity of the candidate. In such cases his decisions were inflexible; as a conscientious man having a public trust of first rate importance, he never consented for any one to take a recognised appointment in the profession, with a smaller share of knowledge than what he conceived necessary to the practice of medicine. From the goodness of his heart, he felt more on many such occasions, for the candidate than the candidate felt for himself. His justice was evidently so impartial, and his goodness so conspicuous, that the slightest breath of censure was never cast upon his proceeding, either by the fortunate or the unfortunate; on the contrary, their admiration of him had received a new impulse.

In his social intercourse he possessed unusual tact in communicating pleasure. Though gifted with unusual strength and cultivation of intellect, and possessing varied and immense resources of conversation, he, on every occasion, seemed more desirous to hear than to be heard. From this turn of mind, his conversation abounded, in a remarkable degree, in questions; he culled information in that way from every source, and where he found a deficiency, he imparted abundantly of his own stock. Many young men, on first obtaining the pleasure of his acquaintance, were struck with this peculiarity—he inquired concerning the mountains, the rivers, the natural productions, the manners of the section of country to which they belonged, and listened with patient and obvious satisfaction to their answers. These interrogations not being expected, the person to whom they were addressed was not always prepared to answer them correctly. But if, through a desire of displaying more information than he actually possessed, the unfortunate individual answered like one who was well acquainted with the subject, another well-timed and pertinent question, hinted to him that it was better for him to confess ignorance than to speak erroneously, for he was talking to one already acquainted with the subject of conversation. All this was done with so much delicacy, that pleasure instead of pain was excited, and many persons must have resolved forthwith to make themselves well acquainted with objects so readily learned, and which till then, it had never occurred to them, could become such interesting subjects of inquiry and of conversation. This happy tact made Dr. WISTAR the charm of every circle. Unbounded in his hospitality, and fascinating in his manners, his house was the resort of literary men of every description, both citizens and strangers; his company was courted equally by the young and the old, the gay and the sedate. Upon his habit of a Saturday evening entertainment, has been founded the well known associations of Philadelphia, called the Wistar parties whose hebdomadal hospitality contributes so much to the charm of its society, and to the gratification of respectable strangers. It was very justly said of him, "if he addressed a promiscuous circle, he spoke like a man of the world, carefully avoiding every thing professional, technical, or in any way insulated; if an individual, he so suited his remarks to his taste and capacities, as to entice him into discourse, and draw from him his knowledge of the subject discussed."*

So deeply had his philanthropy affected his general deportment, that persons but just acquainted with him, were as fully persuaded of his disposition as those who had known him for years. In the sick room he was the ministering angel, compassionate, unwearied, prompt, and deeply skilled; in bad cases never abandoning his patients, or ceasing to apply the resources of the art till life was extinct. In those terrible and unexpected accidents which sometimes come with overwhelming suddenness upon the practitioner of surgery, when even the stoutest and most collected hearts are paralyzed, Dr. Wistar, though on common occasions the most sensitive of mankind, found here all his faculties at their post. Whatever ingenuity could devise, and skill combine, was rapidly executed. He was not one who, in witnessing the immensity of a calamity, forgot the means by which it could be repaired. He practised on the most disinterested principles, being possessed of a good fortune with a lucrative professorship, his charges were proverbially moderate. In this, however, he probably did a disservice to the profession. Inconsiderable charges from a man of his reputation and extent of business, in forming a sort of rule in the profession, of course affected deeply such as were only beginning, and such as had not the other resources which he wielded. Indeed, society itself is scarcely benefited by such a proceeding, for it is generally admitted, that the most able members of the profession, have, for the most part, received the first impulse from the stimulus of necessity, encouraged with the hope of reward; but if the value of the latter be diminished much, it turns the minds of enterprising men from the pursuit, and renders those who are already in it, lukewarm; under which circumstances medicine loses much of its skill and respectability. No man, however, entertained higher notions of the value of professional services than Dr. Wistar, and it was this very lofty conception of them which prevented him from estimating their worth in pounds, shillings, and pence.

Scrupulous and conscientious to an extreme in doing every thing for a patient which he thought could be of service, his efforts went much beyond those of a simple medical attendant. He felt the deepest personal interest for his patient, and not unfrequently afterwards his mind was filled with the strongest sentiments of friendship, founded principally on the benefits which it had been his happiness to extend. In difficult chronic cases he made numerous and protracted visits, and entered into the most minute and comprehensive investigation of them. It was on such occasions that the solace and sympathy of friendship were superadded to the balm of the healing art, and that impressions of devoted affection to him are to be found among numbers of individuals yet alive in Philadelphia, who upon any one touching this string even gently, find it vibrate to the inmost recesses of their hearts, and in the crowd of recollections which the association excites, incapable of utterance, give vent to them in a flood of tears. To call this man good, is only to show the insufficiency of human language.

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* Eulogium on Caspar Wistar, by Charles Caldwell, M. D.

In a point of vast importance to the harmony of society and to the efficacy of Christian convictions, he was a perfect model. The rule "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us," was most indelibly and productively imprinted on his mind. Endowed by nature with a sensibility to be compared only with that of a delicate, youthful, and highly refined female, it is not to be expected but that in his profession he received some rude shocks, enough so indeed to stagger a mind more coarsely organized than his own. Incapable of injustice and of rancor himself, when the first burst of indignation was over, which he owed to human nature, then came the sunshine of a calm and undisturbed conscience. Judging other men by himself, he trusted that there was some mistake, that it had not been intended, that the person had been betrayed into extremities by a vehement and uncontrollable disposition. If, however, a perseverance in injury proved that it was a deliberate and unrepented act of malice, no harsh retort came from his lips; they were closed forever upon the personal demerits of the individual, while he did ample justice to the merits, professional, or otherwise, which the person may have possessed. From this Christian charity, even many of his most intimate friends declare that they never heard him depart, nor utter an unkind word against such as had flagrantly injured him.

Dr. Wistar commenced the discharge of his duties as adjunct professor of anatomy in the little building in Fifth street, opposite the State-House yard. It is now called the Health Office. The increasing celebrity of the school, producing a corresponding concourse of students, that house was insufficient to contain them. Accordingly, about the year 1807, a building was erected on Ninth street below Market. In the winter of 1808, the class met in it. Dr. Shippen, whose domestic misfortunes and bodily infirmities had borne heavily upon him for some years, had retired from the active duties of the chair. But on this occasion he delivered the introductory lecture, which was rendered more than usually interesting to him by his recollections of almost half a century, when but twelve students had assembled to follow his course, in an obscure room in the city. Now he had spacious and comparatively elegant accommodations, and an immense concourse of students from all parts of the union. In a few weeks after this effort of strength, in which he described in glowing terms his emotions, he was gathered to his fathers. This circumstance left Dr. WISTAR sole professor of anatomy.

The talents which had borne him up to this period of life, were now applied with renewed vigor. Determined on discharging his duties to the best of his power, no pains, no expense, were spared. Well experienced in the best mode of instruction, in what was most useful to be learned, he sustained in the maturity of his reputation, the high opinion that had been formed of him. As a teacher of anatomy, differing in many respects from his illustrious predecessor, his elocution was equally popular. His style of speaking was of that earnest and fluent kind, which, abounding in important truths, commanded the attention without restricting itself to the formal rules of oratory. It was not so much the speaker that spoke as the subject which he was discussing; the absorbing interest was in the latter.

From the uncertainty of continuing the course of anatomy in the early years of the school, no arrangements had been made for an anatomical museum. Dr. WISTAR soon became sensible of this deficiency, and to the day of his death continued to supply it. Many years before, he had made a very fine and numerous collection of dried preparations of the arterial and venous systems. A considerable number of corroded preparations in wax were executed about the same period. About the year 1812, a friend of his travelling in Italy, enabled him to add to his cabinet, from the school of Mascagni, several very superior preparations of the lymphatics; their arrival gave an impulse to the cultivation of that branch of practical anatomy among the students of the school, and from it has resulted a number of very creditable preparations. The most signal effort, however, of Dr. WISTAR in this line, was having a number of very large models in wood executed by Rush, with the view of giving every member of his class an equal opportunity of learning.

The last year of Dr. WISTAR's mortal career was marked by an unusual concourse of students, and by a series of lectures, in which he even exceeded his former reputation. In his fifty-eighth year, animated by a new and improved lecture-room, but in an impaired state of health, his excessive fondness for the duties of the chair still stimulated him to advance in the noble career. In this zenith of popularity, and of public confidence, in January, 1818, he was assailed with the malady destined by Providence to close his labors. So long as reason maintained her seat, his exclamation was "Well, to-morrow I shall certainly be able to meet my class," and even when dark delirium threw her mantle over his faculties, his incoherent ravings were addressed to the same subject, and it was only by coercion that he was prevented one day, long after the usual hour of his lecture had expired, from repairing to the University.

Thus perished one of the most distinguished ornaments of the medical profession, and of the literary circles of this country. That his loss was deeply felt, was manifested by the various eulogiums and notices of this event, in different parts of the United States.* A constant memorial of his estimation is now found in the name of the Wistar parties before alluded to, and in the cards of invitation of the association having a vignette of his head.

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* Eulogium on Dr. WISTAR by Chief Justice Tilghman, March 11th, 1818.
" by Professor Hosack, January 26th, 1818.
" by Charles Caldwell, M. D., February 21st, 1818.
Note Necrologique Par J. Correa de Serra, Avril, 1818, unpublished.

DAVID HOSACK, M. D. F. R. S.

"The only advantage which the world can gain from the publication of the lives of individuals, is the knowledge of the circumstances that tend to the formation of character, or of those which influence the happiness of life."

The only objection which can be raised against the publication of the memoirs of *living* men is, that truth is apt to be buried in panegyric. Although we willingly admit that there is an appearance of reason in the objection, yet, there are others, and, as we believe, stronger reasons which may be presented to cast the balance on the other side.

That we should speak favorably of the subjects admitted in this collection, ought not to be considered a fault, as if we had nothing to say in their favor, we should not admit them at all. It is not our design nor practice to lavish praise indiscriminately, but rather to gather facts and state them fairly; and such facts, published during the lifetime of the subject, can with more certainty be relied on, than such as may be collected from his friends,—and who would seek truth from his foes?—after death, when the maxim "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*," is most generally strictly observed.

In the memoir before us, we shall be restrained, by our limits, to a narrative of the prominent incidents in the life of a physician of nearly forty years' practice; which, of course, cannot be few, nor uninteresting.

David Hosack was born in the city of New York, on the 31st of August, 1769. His father, Alexander Hosack, whom he never mentioned but with reverence and affection, was a native of Scotland, born at Elgin, in Murrayshire, on the 29th of August, 1736. His mother, Jane, the daughter of Thomas Arden, of the city of New-York, was born on the 2d of March, 1743. Her paternal ancestors were from England, but on the maternal side, were among those who fled from France during the persecutions which succeeded the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Their first child, the subject of this memoir, after receiving the rudiments of education in his native city, was sent to the grammar school of the late Dr. Alexander M'Whorter, at Newark, New Jersey, about the year 1783, where he pursued the study of languages, &c. until 1784, when he was removed to the school of Dr. Peter Wilson, at Hackensack, for the purpose of obtaining an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, in teaching which Dr. Wilson had acquired distinguished reputation.

In 1786, Mr. Hosack entered as a pupil in Columbia college, where he remained two and a half years; he then proceeded to Nassau Hall, Princeton, then under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon. Here he finished his course of collegiate studies, and received the degree of bachelor of arts in the fall of 1789.

During the last year of his attendance at Columbia college, he had commenced the study of medicine and surgery, under the direction of the late Richard Bayley: while at Princeton, these studies were intermitted, but immediately resumed after his graduation, and exclusively continued with great assiduity. Medical instruction at that period in New York, was imparted by private teachers: the faculty of medicine, which had existed prior to the revolution, in King's (now Columbia) college, not having been reorganized. Nevertheless, the pupil enjoyed favorable opportunities of becoming well instructed in all the *practical* branches of a medical education. At that time an excellent course of lectures was delivered by Dr. Richard Bayley and by Dr. Wright Post, upon Anatomy and Surgery; Dr. Nicholas Romayne lectured upon the practice of physic, the materia medica, chemistry, and botany; Dr. Samuel Bard delivered a practical course of instruction upon obstetrics and the diseases of women and children. At the same time too, the alms-house, then located in the city of New York, on the site now occupied by the city hall, was attended by Dr. Nicholas Romayne, Dr. William Moore, and Dr. Benjamin Kissam, as physicians, and by Dr. Post as surgeon of the establishment. Under their care, this infirmary was rendered a profitable school of practical instruction to the students of medicine and surgery; while the sick received all the benefits of the abilities and education of the distinguished physicians by whom they were visited in rotation. The cases were regularly recorded, and the prescriptions entered by the clerk of the house, selected from the students, in the same manner as is pursued in the infirmary of Edinburgh. These cases were afterward made the subjects of clinical lectures by the physicians in attendance.

The subject of this memoir not only gave daily attendance at this school, but enjoyed more immediate advantages as one of the clerks of the prescribing physicians.

Solicitous of further improvement, he afterwards proceeded to the city of Philadelphia, which had great reputation from its distinguished professors, Shippen, Rush, Hutchinson, Kuhn, Wistar, Barton, and Griffiths. After attendance upon a full course of lectures, and the practice of the hospital of that city, the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him, in 1791, the degree of M. D., upon which occasion he wrote a dissertation on Cholera Morbus, in which he defended the peculiar doctrines on that subject taught by Dr. Kuhn. He also, during the same winter, attended the lectures of Dr. Rush, the professor of the theory and practice in the college of Philadelphia,—which was a rival medical school, to that of the university—availing himself at the same time of the benefits of a course of lectures on practical anatomy, by the late Dr. Foulke.

By the advice of his friend, Dr. Rush, in whose family he had become domesticated, and who always took a deep interest in the welfare of his pupils, Dr. Hosack undertook the practice of his profession in Alexandria, D. C., but after a year's residence there, although in that time he had a full share of the practice of the town, he returned to his native city, taking with him the warmest testimonials of approbation from the public authorities, and of the most distinguished private citizens.

Upon his return to New York in the spring of 1792, a number of deaths by drowning having occurred, he wrote and published an essay on the means of restoring life in cases of suspended animation, and succeeded in obtaining the coöperation of the corporation of the city in the establishment of a humane society. We shall avail ourselves of the language of a communication on this subject from a contemporary,* and, if we mistake not, a co-worker with Dr. Hosack in his benevolent projects; "But in the *charities* of life, in those services which carry comfort to the poor and distressed, was he eminently useful. To him the humane society is indebted for its establishment: when he first joined it, it was called the Jail society, and its services were confined to the supply of provisions to the prisoners confined in jail for debt; upon his suggestion, and through his instrumentality a charter was obtained extending the objects of its charity, and naming it the "Humane society;" a convenient soup house was erected with the funds of the institution, aided by the corporation; apparatus for the recovery of persons apparently drowned, were procured and distributed in several parts of the city. The services of the society were then extended to a relief of the respectable poor who chose to apply. In the severe winters with which our city has been visited, this institution was eminently and extensively useful. A general direction was also given to the matron of the house never to refuse an applicant; so that our city might have the proud boast that no one need perish of hunger."

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* General Jacob Morton, of New York.

A few weeks after Dr. Hosack's return to New York, finding the chief practice of the city in the hands of physicians who derived considerable reputation and the confidence of their fellow citizens from the circumstance of their having been educated abroad; and being animated by a desire of further and more extensive improvement, he resolved to repair to the medical schools of Edinburgh and London.

His father cheerfully assented to his views, and liberally gave him an unlimited credit. He accordingly repaired to the university of Edinburgh, then in the zenith of its reputation, and adorned by a constellation of the greatest men of that age. Here he had unceasing opportunities of improvement in the practice of medicine during the autumn and winter of 1792–3. His attendance, too, upon the royal medical and the royal physical societies of Edinburgh, of which he became a member, doubtless contributed greatly to his improvement.

His intercourse with the learned of Edinburgh was no less profitable. His acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Erskine, Mr. Henry Mackenzie, the author of the "Man of Feeling," Dr. Charles Stuart, &c., added to the attentions he received from Principal Robertson, Professors Gregory, Hamilton, Duncan, and others, could not fail to have greatly enlarged his views, professional and literary, and thus to have laid the foundation of that devotedness to those pursuits which he ever after manifested, and for which he has been distinguished.

In the spring of 1793 Dr. Hosack visited the birth-place of his father, in the north of Scotland. In this tour, carrying with him letters of introduction from Professors Gregory, Stewart, and others, he became acquainted with some of the most distinguished philosophers of that country. Principal Campbell, of Mareschal College, Aberdeen; Dr. Beattie; the Rev. Dr. Skeene Keith, of Keith Hall, the Dean Swift of Scotland; James Brodie, of Brodie House, &c., were among the most eminent whose society and friendship he sought and acquired.

He then proceeded to London, where he was introduced by letters, to the patronage and friendship of Dr. Andrew Marshall, a distinguished teacher of anatomy and surgery, having been formerly the professor of humanity in the university of Edinburgh; to Dr. George Pearson, a physician of St. George's hospital, who was then zealously engaged as a lecturer on the practice of physic and on chemistry, and to whom the credit is due for the first introduction of the new French doctrines and chemical nomenclature of Lavoisier; to Mr. Curtis, author of the Flora Londinensis; to Sir James Edward Smith, the Linnæus of the day; and many other medical and literary characters of the metropolis.

Dr. Hosack's first step on his arrival in London, was to enter St. Bartholomew's hospital, as a pupil of surgery, under Sir James Earl and John Abernethy, the assistant surgeon of the same institution; he at the same time commenced the study of botany under Mr. Curtis, at the botanic garden at Brompton. Here he had the fortune to add to his acquaintance the Rev. Dr. Martyn, professor of botany at Cambridge; the Rev. Dr. Goodenough, late the bishop of Carlisle, but still more distinguished as the vice-president of the Linnæan society, and author of the valuable monograph, published in the transactions of that society, on the genus *carex*. Dr. Hosack, also, with a class of amateurs, consisting of the late Drs. Babington, Smyth Gibbes, and others, made weekly botanical excursions with Mr. Curtis, investigating the plants in the vicinity of London; and occasionally he gave his attention to the cryptogamous plants, under the direction of the celebrated Dickson, of Covent Garden, the "*maximus in minimis*" as he was facetiously and appropriately called by his friends; such was his skill in his investigations of this minute tribe of plants. Dr. Hosack also attended the public lectures on botany and zoology delivered by Dr., the late Sir James Edward Smith, and enjoyed the privileges of his private instruction, in the examination of the genera and species comprising the Linnæan Herbarium.

Such was his progress in botany and natural history that he was introduced as a foreign member of the Linnæan society, of which he was subsequently elected a fellow. During his residence in London, he made known to Dr. George Pearson, some valuable facts relative to the communication of the virus of small pox from the mother to the fœtus in utero, which he had observed while practising in Alexandria: these were published by Dr. Pearson, in his excellent paper on this subject, in the Commentaries of Dr. Duncan.

Upon the commencement of the medical lectures in the autumn, Dr. Hosack devoted himself to the dissecting room of Dr. Marshall; to lectures and the hospital; occasionally visiting the literary institutions of London. In the winter of 1793–4 he attended the first course of lectures on mineralogy that was delivered in London, by Schmeisser, the pupil of Werner. With this additional knowledge of mineralogy, which Dr. Hosack had begun to study at Edinburgh, he continued to augment the cabinet of minerals which he had commenced in Scotland. This collection was brought by him to the United States, and was, we believe, the first cabinet that crossed the Atlantic; it was afterward deposited in Princeton college, in rooms appropriated by the trustees, but fitted up at the expense of the donor, similar to those at the "Eeole des mines," at Paris: to render this donation immediately useful, it was accompanied by a collection of the most important works on mineralogy.*

In the winter of 1793–4, Dr. Thomas Young's paper on the muscularity of the chrystaline lens was read to the Royal Society, attributing to this power the capacity which the eye possesses of adapting itself to the different distances of objects. This subject attracted the notice of our young American physician. By an examination of the structure, and by various preparations of the chrystaline lens, he very soon discovered the errors of Dr. Young, and by his experiments upon the eye, made upon himself and others, and a minute dissection of the external muscles, ascertained that these last organs alone possessed the power of changing the axis of the eye according to the distances of objects observed. His views were exhibited to a number of scientific friends, who recommended him to present the paper to the Royal Society. It was read to that body by Dr. Pearson, and referred to a committee, who at the next meeting of the society, made a very elaborate report upon the whole subject and the peculiar views of the writer.* It was ordered to be published in the transactions of the society, and the thanks of that body to be communicated to the author. That paper made a strong and favorable impression upon the medical and literary men of London, gave the author high consideration, and laid the foundation of the honor afterward conferred upon him by the Royal Society, in admitting him a fellow of that institution. In the abridgment of the Transactions, published by Drs. Hutton, Shaw, and Pearson, the same paper has been reprinted entire.

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* The specimens were systematically arranged and marked by Dr. Hosack soon after his return from Europe, assisted by the late Dr. Archibald Bruce, who was then his private pupil, and whose attention was thus first awakened to the subject.

In the summer of 1794, Dr. HOSACK returned to New York, and entered upon the practical duties of his profession, which he has continued to prosecute with unremitting ardor and success nearly to the present time.

In 1795, he was elected to the professorship of botany in Columbia college: the following year he published a syllabus of his lectures in that branch of natural history, containing an outline of the history and progress of botany from the earliest period to the time of the publication, being aided in the same by an extensive botanic library, afterwards purchased by the governors of the New York hospital. About this time he commenced a system of instruction to his private pupils, that proved not only of signal benefit to them, but to all who were engaged in the study of medicine,—the other practitioners of the city finding it necessary to adopt the same system in giving private instruction to their pupils. The advantages offered by Dr. HOSACK to his pupils, and the liberality with which he provided every thing necessary or useful in their education, soon became generally known and served to secure to him an ascendency as a private teacher, which he continued to retain while in practice.

But Dr. HOSACK's interest in the welfare of his pupils was not confined to the period of their study; such was his attachment to those who signalized themselves by their industry, zeal, talent, and correct moral deportment, that when they entered on the practice of their profession, he never ceased to exert himself in their behalf, by aiding in their establishment, and anxiously availing himself of every occasion to bring them into public notice.

Dr. HOSACK's early practice was eminently successful, and several extraordinary cases which had been under his care were described and published in the Edinburgh Annals of medicine. The appearance of the yellow fever in New York in 1795, afforded him a favorable opportunity of signalizing himself, which he did not neglect.

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* These views of the subject first suggested to Mr. Ramsden, the construction of his *artificial eye*, as the means of testing the correctness of the doctrine contended for, and which is now generally employed by teachers of optics to illustrate the theory of vision.

In the autumn of that year, Dr. Samuel Bard found it necessary, as preparatory to his contemplated retirement from the practice of medicine, (in which he had been assiduously engaged for nearly half a century,) to leave the city for some weeks; upon this occasion he requested Dr. Hosack, to whom he had formed a strong attachment, to take charge of his practice during his absence. Our young physician attended to his trust with so much zeal and fidelity, that upon Dr. Bard's return to town, finding his patients gratified by the attentions they had received, and the success with which their complaints had been treated; he immediately proposed a connexion in business. This accordingly took place on the 1st of January, 1796, and was continued four years, when Dr. Bard finally removed to his country seat at Hyde Park, leaving Dr. Hosack in the full possession of an extensive and lucrative practice.

During the prevalence of the yellow fever in New York in the years 1795–6–7–8, and 1801, 1803, 1805, 1819, and 1822, he distinguished himself by the zeal and success with which he prescribed the *sudorific treatment*, which had been originally recommended by Sydenham in the treatment of malignant fever; by Dr. Warren in the yellow fever of Barbadoes; and by Dr. John Bard in the same disease when prevailing in New York, in 1762. The attention which Dr. Hosack paid to this disease in the years referred to, received, in a peculiar manner, the approbation of his fellow citizens; for it was remarked of him, that during those several epidemics he was always present, and thereby enjoyed the amplest opportunities of observation and of forming correct opinions of the nature and character of the disease. In 1798, he was himself attacked with it, and he pursued in his own case the same treatment he had so successfully made use of in others. Such too, was the public confidence in the correctness of his views and practice, that at the request of the corporation and board of health of New York, he was frequently called upon to visit the sick for the express purpose of ascertaining the character of a disease, to allay thereby the anxiety of their fellow citizens. In 1811, he was requested, as a member of a committee, to investigate the nature, and trace the introduction of the yellow fever which appeared at Amboy in New Jersey, in that year. The report of that committee which was communicated to Dewitt Clinton, as president of the board of health, was written by Dr. Hosack. This luminous and circumstantial statement, was received as a conclusive document, shewing the specific character of the disease and its communication by means of contagion, and was republished in the medical journals of Edinburgh and London.

The letters, essays, and reports written by Dr. Hosack on this subject are so numerous that we cannot undertake to name them, but will refer the reader to the "American Medical and Philosophical Register, four volumes, octavo, edited by Drs. Hosack and Francis, and to the three volumes of "Essays on Various Subjects of Medical Science," which have been published by the doctor himself. We are well aware that the doctor's views of contagion and infection have been, and are, discussed, debated, and controverted, and it is not for us to decide "when doctors differ;" but it will not be improper for us to say, that his opinions have been approved by a great number of the most distinguished names in the profession at home and abroad. We select, in illustration, the following compliment from the preface to "Thomas's Practice," which was dedicated by the author to Dr. Hosack. "I very much regret that Dr. Hosack's discourse on the medical police of the city of New York, and which has been published at the particular request of the corporation thereof, did not fall under my inspection in sufficient time to notice, in the present edition, under the head of yellow fever, some of the valuable observations and regulations recommended therein for the suppression and extinction of the contagion of the disease. Here I can only say, that the body of evidence brought forward and detailed in this discourse ought, in my opinion, forever to set at rest the question which relates to the origin of that fatal malady: it clearly proves that the yellow fever arose from imported contagion, and had not a domestic origin, or was the product of decomposed animal and vegetable matter."

In 1797, upon the death of Dr. W. P. Smith, professor of materia medica in Columbia college, that branch was connected with botany, and Dr. Hosack appointed to the joint professorships; in which situation he continued until 1807, when, upon the establishment of the college of physicians and surgeons of the university of the state of New York, he was chosen by the regents the professor of the materia medica and midwifery. In 1811, when it was deemed expedient to remodel the medical school, he was elected to the chair of the theory and practice of physic and clinical medicine, to which was afterwards added the professorship of obstetrics and the diseases of women and children. We have seen it noticed in a resolution of thanks adopted by the students in 1812, that during the season Dr. Hosack had delivered upwards of one hundred lectures on the theory and practice, exclusive of a separate course on midwifery. It certainly detracts nothing from the reputation of his able colleagues to say, that to his unwearied exertions and abilities in the discharge of his professional duties, much of the celebrity and flattering prospects of the medical school are justly to be attributed. After a few years of increasing prosperity, however, difficulties occurred between the professors and the trustees, which resulted in the resignation of the former, and the establishment of the Rutgers medical college.

This institution was organized in the fall of 1826, and a majority of the former professors, with the late Dr. Godman, commenced their professional duties in a manner flattering to themselves and advantageous to their pupils. For four terms this school maintained a strong and powerful rivalry with the state establishment, and in the number of its hearers and graduates, enjoyed, it is believed, a decided superiority. Legislative restrictions, however, interposed; and the advantages anticipated by a noble spirit of competition in the means of advancing medical science were thus cut off. The Rutgers medical faculty therefore exists at present only in name.

Besides the duties of private practice and public teaching, Dr. Hosack has filled for many years the station of physician to that valuable practical school of medicine, the New York hospital; he has also been an active member of most of the literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions of New York, and the records of those societies bear ample testimony to the important part which he has taken in their transactions, and the liberal services which he has rendered.

Enough has been said, we think, to show that if Dr. Hosack has enjoyed a high reputation as a physician, a teacher, or writer on medical subjects, it has been earned by long and laborious study and indefatigable industry: it may here be added that he was always observant of the strictest punctuality in the performance of his numerous and various engagements, having scarcely ever been known either to omit the performance of his duty, or to be absent five minutes after the term prescribed for his attendance. Indeed, it is an observation of his own, no doubt founded on his experience, that the more a man has to do the better he does it, and the more punctual he is in the performance. His practice of early rising, and his temperate habits of life, have also been favorable to the accomplishment of the numerous and varied services he has rendered to the community.

His liberality to numerous literary and benevolent institutions is known to the public, (and we know no sufficient reason for concealment wherever our pages are read, particularly as his gifts have been confined by no local boundaries.) The donation to the college at Princeton has already been mentioned; he has more recently presented a large and valuable collection of works on mathematics and chemistry to the library of Columbia college: nor should we pass over in silence the interest he manifested in resuscitating the American academy of fine arts. At a period when it was at its most depressed condition, he came forward, made the necessary pecuniary advances, and took the hazard of being reimbursed from the receipts of its subsequent exhibitions. In this, however, he was fortunately made whole. He has since added to the very rich collection of statuary owned by the academy, several valuable donations. The commencement of the medical library in the New York hospital; the improvement in the organization, and the extension of the city dispensary; and the first introduction of vaccination in the city of New York, are no less creditable to his intelligence than to the best feelings of the heart.

The discourses which he has delivered before the New York historical society, the horticultural society, the New York city temperance society, &c., the biographical sketches and obituary notices which have been published, in addition to the innumerable scientific and professional papers, all bear witness to his habits of research, close investigation, clear discrimination, and varied learning. He also published a system of Practical Nosology, a second edition of which appeared in 1821.

In 1830, Dr. Hosack concluded to retire from the practice of the profession of medicine, and to remove into the country, exchanging his pursuits for the more healthful occupation of agriculture. With this view he purchased the valuable estate at Hyde Park, on the Hudson, that had been formerly the residence of his patron and friend, Dr. Bard: there, in the midst of a numerous, amiable, and happy family, he continues to reside from May to November, passing the other portion of the year in the city of New York. When in the country, he has hitherto zealously devoted himself to the cultivation and improvement of his farm and pleasure grounds, which are very extensive, and adorned by all that wealth and refined taste can add to a spot which nature has amply endowed.

We have thus presented the readers of the Portrait Gallery with a rapid but faithful outline of the more prominent events which have marked the life of DAVID HOSACK. Our prescribed limits forbid more minuteness. He who from an early beginning has devoted the best energies of a well disciplined intellect for a period of more than forty years to the service of science and humanity, commands the admiration of all who cherish that devotion for the welfare of society which ennobles our species. Conspicuous, moreover, as the medical profession of this country have ever been in works of benevolence, and in deeds conducive to the advancement of sound learning, none in that eminent rank of men can be pointed out who have surpassed the subject of this sketch. We have seen that the humane society, the city dispensary, and other charities have had the boundaries of their benevolence enlarged by his suggestions; the Jennerian discovery found in him its promptest and most strenuous advocate almost immediately after the great blessing was promulgated abroad; the rigors of prison discipline have been meliorated by his measures; and in seasons of pestilence, when dismay and danger invaded every inhabitant, with an intrepidity surpassing all commendation, Dr. HOSACK was found the sure and fixed guide, alike indifferent in himself to the power and consequences of the pestilence, and solicitous only to lessen the extent of its ravages, and to ascertain the laws by which it was governed. Hence it was well observed by a foreign critic, "I would rather be the author of Dr. HOSACK's paper on the laws of contagion, than the writer of the ponderous quarto volume of Dr. Adams on morbid poisons;" and it may be further remarked, that no future historian of the malignant yellow fever, will be able to do justice to his subject without a close examination of the facts and doctrines which Dr. HOSACK has recorded in his various publications. The constituted authorities and his fellow citizens have accordingly, on several occasions, publicly expressed their acknowledgements of his services, and evinced their gratitude for the fidelity with which he was ever found at the post of duty.

As the cultivator of natural science, the founder of the Elgin botanic garden has peculiar claims to regard. This institution was created by vast toil and at no inconsiderable expense; the anticipations of the learned and enlightened friends of natural history in distant regions of the world have indeed been disappointed by the subsequent neglect and decay of this establishment, but no censure can fall to Dr. HOSACK from this circumstance. Legislative provision for its support, was, through a singular policy, withheld, and as a legitimate consequence, what had been effected by large pecuniary means and scientific direction, without the continuance of these aids, could not otherwise than prove abortive. The generous light in which his contributions to horticultural knowledge have been viewed, led the Horticultural Society of London to award him one of its annual medals, and create him an honorary member.

But as the able and distinguished practitioner, as the learned, eloquent, and sound professor of practical medicine, it is that Dr. Hosack's title to the name of a benefactor of his species is most strongly founded. In the responsible vocation of teacher, he may safely be declared to have had no superior: for this department of knowledge, his genius and capacity seem to have been peculiarly adapted. "We take pride, (said the students of his class, in a public address to him upon the termination of the annual course of his collegiate duties,) in declaring our emotions of sincere and ardent gratitude for the elaborate courses of instruction he has given on the important branches committed to his care. His enlightened and liberal views of the profession; his minute and extensive acquaintance with the treasures of ancient and modern learning; his accuracy of observation, derived from the stores of his own ample experience; his judicious and extended application of the system of induction to medical philosophy; his impressive and ready method of communication, have imparted to his lectures the highest interest, and have left us in equal admiration of the science itself, and of the ability of the lecturer."

As a member, and as president of the Historical Society of New York, he appropriated a portion of his time, of his pecuniary resources, and of his cultivated mind, towards its advancement to its present excellent condition: as the successor of the lamented Clinton, as president of the Literary and Philosophical Society, it is admitted he has acted worthy of the enlightened career of his predecessor. A more disinterested tribute to the memory of a faithful patriot and eminent man, cannot readily be cited than his biography of his illustrious friend,—his memoir of Dewitt Clinton.

Many of our successful cultivators in science and the arts have received the homage due their efforts in the testimonials of foreign associations. The friends of Dr. Hosack refer with pleasurable emotions to the fact that his claims to a like distinction were not overlooked by his earliest associates abroad, and feel the greatest satisfaction that his recommendation as Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1816, was supported by such names as Sir Joseph

Banks, Sir James Edward Smith, Abraham Rees, editor of the Cyclopædia, John Abernethy, Sir Gilbert Blane, Dr. Colin Chisholm, and others. Dr. Brewster, now Sir David, and the venerable John Playfair, were, we believe, among the most prominent of those who nominated him as Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. His *alma mater*, Princeton college, conferred on him, in 1818, the degree of LL. D., and the same literary distinction was also bestowed on him by Union college.

Shortly after his retirement from the city, being invited by some of his friends to enter into political life, and to attach himself to one of the parties then existing, he declined the invitation, and in his reply thus expressed his views and feelings. "If a party could be formed favorable to the interests of *education*, of *agriculture*, and the *commercial* character of our state; to the development of its natural resources and promotive of internal improvements; to such a party I could not hesitate to avow my allegiance, and to devote the best exertions of which I am capable to advance the interests of my native state and country: but under the existing dissentions, I must decline all connexion with our political institutions, and devote myself to the cultivation of the vine and the fig-tree, as more conducive to my own happiness and that of my family."

JAMES KENT.

James Kent was born the 31st July, 1763, in that part of Dutchess county then called the precinct of Fredericksburgh, now in the county of Putnam, in the state of New York. His grandfather, the Rev. Elisha Kent, a native of Suffield, in the state of Connecticut, married the daughter of the Rev. Joseph Moss, of Derby, and was for some time a minister of the Presbyterian church at Newtown, in that state. He removed, as early as 1740, to the south-east part of Dutchess county, then wild and uncultivated, but which gradually increased in population, and became known as Kent's Parish. He continued to reside there until his death, in July, 1776, at the age of seventy-two. His eldest son, Moss Kent, who, as well as his father, was a graduate of Yale college, commenced the study of the law, under Lieutenant-Governor Fitch, at Norwalk, in Connecticut, and was admitted to the bar in Dutchess county, in 1756. In 1760 he married the eldest daughter of Dr. Uriah Rogers, a physician at Norwalk, by whom he had three children, who are now living. **James**, the subject of this memoir, Moss, who was a member of the senate of New York for four years, afterwards a member of congress, and first judge of the court of common pleas of Jefferson county, which office he resigned on being appointed register of the court of chancery in 1817, and Hannah, who married William Pitt Platt, of Plattsburgh. They lost their mother in 1770, and their father died in 1794, at the age of sixty-one.

When five years old, **James**, the eldest son, was placed at an English school, at Norwalk, and lived in the family of his maternal grandfather, until 1772, when he went to reside with an uncle, at Pawlings, in Dutchess county, where he acquired the first rudiments of Latin. In May, 1773, he was sent to a Latin school, at Danbury, in Connecticut, under the charge of the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, a highly respectable Presbyterian minister. After the death of Mr. Baldwin, in October, 1776, he was under different instructers, at Danbury, Stratford, and Newtown, until he entered Yale college, in New Haven, in September, 1777. At these different schools, he was remarked as possessing a lively disposition, great quickness of parts, a spirit of emulation, and love of learning. The pious puritans, among whom he lived, were sober, frugal, and industrious, and the strict and orderly habits of those around him had their influence in forming his own. From their example and the impressions received at that early age, he acquired that simplicity of character and purity of morals which he ever afterwards preserved, without losing his natural vivacity and playfulness of temper. He has often mentioned the delight he experienced on his periodical returns from school to his home, in rambling with his brother among the wild scenery of his native hills and valleys. The associations then formed rendered him an enthusiastic admirer of the beauties of nature; and in after life during the intervals of business, he made excursions into every part of his native state, through New England, and along the borders of Canada, visiting each mountain, lake, and cascade; and while gratifying his taste for simple pleasures, preserving and invigorating his health.

In July, 1779, in consequence of the invasion of New Haven by the British troops, the college was broken up, and the students for a time dispersed. During his exile, having met with a copy of Blackstone's Commentaries, he read the work of that elegant writer, with great eagerness and pleasure, and it so excited his admiration, that he determined, at the age of sixteen, to be a lawyer.

He left college, after taking the degree of bachelor, in September, 1781, with high reputation; and, after passing a few weeks at Fairfield, to which place his father had removed on his second marriage, he went to Poughkeepsie, and commenced the study of the law, under the direction of Egbert Benson, then attorney-general of the state of New York, and, afterwards, one of the judges of the supreme court. His strong and decided attachment to jurisprudence could not fail to ensure his success. Besides the books of English common law, he read the large works of Grotius and Puffendorf, making copious extracts from them, and, as a relaxation, perusing the best writers in English literature, of which his favorite portions were history, poetry, geography, voyages, and travels. He was temperate in all his habits, a water-drinker, and entered into no dissipation, not even joining in the ordinary fashionable amusements of others of the same age. He was very far, however, from being grave, reserved, or austere; but was uniformly cheerful, lively, and communicative. The love of reading had become his ruling passion, and when he felt the want of amusement, "he better knew great nature's charms to prize," and sought it in rural walks, amidst objects that purify and elevate the imagination. In September, 1784, he took the degree of master of arts at Yale college, and in January, 1785, was admitted an attorney of the supreme court. He went to Fredericksburgh, with the intention of commencing the practice of his profession there; but the solitude of that retired spot soon became insupportable, and in less than two months, he returned to Poughkeepsie, where, in April, 1785, he married Miss ——— Bailey, a lady a few years younger than himself, and with whom he has since lived in the uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic felicity. He possessed, at this time, little or no property, but living with great simplicity in a country village, his wants were few, and supplied at little expense. Young, ardent, and active, he felt no anxiety for the future; but engaged with increased alacrity in professional business and literary pursuits, so as to leave no portion of his time unemployed.

In 1787, he resolved to renew and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Roman classics, which he had entirely neglected after leaving college. When it is considered that the only Greek book at that time read by the classes in that seat of learning, was the Greek Testament, and the only Latin works, Virgil, the select orations of Cicero, and some parts of Horace, we may easily imagine how imperfect must have been that part of his education, the defects of which he was determined to supply. He began a course of self-instruction, with an energy and perseverance, that mark a strong and generous mind. That he might lose no time, and pursue his various studies with method and success, he divided the hours not given to rest, into five portions: rising early and reading Latin until eight, Greek until ten, devoting the rest of the forenoon to law; in the afternoon two hours were applied to French, and the rest of day to English authors. This division and employment of his time were continued with little variation, until he became a judge. By this practice, he was under no necessity of encroaching on those hours best appropriated to sleep, and preserved his health unimpaired. If his mind became weary in one department of study, he found relief by passing to another; "from grave to gay, from lively to severe." He read Homer, Xenophon, and Demosthenes with great delight. Though he afterwards relinquished the pursuit of Grecian literature, he continued to read the best Latin and French authors and many of the former more than once. As large public libraries, if any then existed, were not within his reach, he began a collection of books which he has gradually increased to several thousand volumes, and he has often said, that next to his family, his library had been to him the greatest source of enjoyment. It fed, while it increased his appetite for useful knowledge, and cherished that love of literature that had grown and strengthened with his growing years. In April, 1787, he was admitted a counsellor in the supreme court. He soon entered with ardor into the discussion of the great political questions which then absorbed the attention and agitated the minds of all. He could not long remain neutral between the two contending parties, and after a careful examination of the arguments of each, he, from the purest motives and with the clearest conviction, joined the federal side. He soon became the friend of Jay, Hamilton, and other eminent men of that party, with whom he uniformly acted, and to whose principles he has steadily adhered to the present day.

In April, 1790, he was elected a member of the state legislature for Dutchess county, and again in 1792. In the session held in the city of New York, he took a zealous and distinguished part in the memorable question which arose in that body, on the conduct of the canvassers of the votes given in the warmly contested election for governor, in destroying those returned from Otsego county, by which means Mr. Clinton obtained a small majority over Mr. Jay, (then chief justice of the United States,) who was the federal candidate. His writings on that occasion attracted much attention, and he became favorably known in the city. He was, at that time, nominated as a candidate for congress, in Dutchess county, but his competitor, who adhered to the opposite party, succeeded by a small majority. During his attendance in the legislature, his principles and conduct were so highly respected, that he was urged by his friends to remove to the city, where he might find greater scope for the exercise of his talents, and more lucrative business in his profession. He accordingly removed to New York, in April, 1793. The first month of his residence in the city was embittered by the loss of an only child, and for a time his prospects were clouded with sorrow. In December, he was appointed professor of law in Columbia college, and commenced the delivery of lectures, in November, 1794. The course was attended by many respectable members of the bar, and a large class of students. In the following winter, he read a second course; but the number of his hearers having diminished, he was discouraged from delivering another. The three prelimi nary lectures were afterwards published, but the sale of them did not reimburse the expense of publication. The trustees of the college conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws, and he has since received similar honors from Harvard university and Dartmouth college.

In February, 1796, he was appointed a master in chancery, and there being, at that time, but one other, the office was lucrative. In the same year, he was elected a member of the legislature from the city of New York. He delivered an address before the society for the promotion of agriculture, arts, and manufactures, at their anniversary meeting in New York, on the 8th of November, 1796, which is inserted in the first volume of the transactions of the society. It contains a rapid and animating sketch of the great natural and political advantages of the United States, and especially of the state of New York, for the advancement of the great objects of the society, and the progress of the country since that time has more than realized the most glowing anticipations of its patriotic founders

In March, 1797, he was, without solicitation and quite unexpectedly to himself, appointed recorder of the city. This being a judicial office, was the more acceptable as well as more honorable; and being allowed to retain that of master, the duties of both were so great, and the emoluments so considerable, that he gradually relinquished the more active business of his profession, to which he was not strongly attached. From constitutional diffidence, or habits of study, he appeared not to feel confident in the possession of the powers requisite to ensure preëminence as an advocate at the bar.

In 1798, Governor Jay, who knew his worth and highly respected his character, offered him the office of junior judge of the supreme court, then vacant, which he accepted. This appointment gratified his highest ambition. It placed him in a situation where he could more fully display his attainments, and have a wider field for the investigation of legal science. In accepting the office, he relinquished, for a limited income, all the flattering prospects of increasing wealth that had opened to him during five years' residence in the city. Though most of his friends doubted the wisdom of his choice, he never regretted it. And all who feel interested in the pure and enlightened administration of justice, have found reason to rejoice that he followed the dictates of his own judgment, in a matter so interesting to the honor and happiness of his after life. On becoming a judge he returned to Poughkeepsie, but in the following year, he removed to Albany, where he continued to reside until 1823.

When he took his seat on the bench of the supreme court, there were no reports of its decisions, nor any known or established precedents of its own to guide or direct his judgment. The English law books were freely cited, and the adjudications of English courts regarded with the highest respect, and in most cases, with the force of authority. The opinions of the judges were generally delivered orally, with little regularity, and often after much delay. The law was in a state of great and painful uncertainty. He began by preparing a written and argumentative opinion in every case of sufficient importance to become a precedent for the future. These opinions he was ready to deliver at the day when the judges met to consult on the decisions to be pronounced by the court. The other judges, pursuing a similar course, also gave their reasons in writing, supported by legal authorities. As he read with a pen in his hand, extracting, digesting, abridging, and making copious notes, the practice of writing opinions was easy and agreeable. Besides making himself master of all the English adjudications applicable to the points under examination, he frequently brought to his aid the body of the civil law, and the writings of eminent jurists of the countries in which that law prevails; especially, in the discussion of questions arising on personal contracts, or of commercial and maritime law, the principles of which have been so admirably unfolded and illustrated by Domat, Pothier, Valin, Emerigon, and others. Like Selden, Hale, and Mansfield, he thought law could not be well understood as a science, without seeking its grounds and reasons in the Roman law. From that great repository of "written wisdom," he drew largely, engrafting its sound and liberal principles on the hardy stock of the English common law. Thus commenced that series of judicial decisions which have enriched the jurisprudence of New York, and shed their influence on that of other states.

In 1800 he and Mr. Justice Radcliffe were appointed by the legislature, to revise the statutes of the state; and in January, 1802, was published their edition of them, comprised in two volumes octavo. Without venturing to change the phraseology of the laws, they confined themselves to the single object of placing together the various acts of the legislature relative to the same subject, so as to bring the original enactments and all subsequent additions and amendments, into one act; and by a full and accurate index, to facilitate a reference to them.

In July, 1804, he was appointed chief justice of the supreme court, in which he continued to preside until 1814. We shall not here attempt to enter into any examination of the opinions delivered by him during the time he was a judge of that court. They are contained in sixteen volumes of Reports, from January, 1799, to February, 1814; and the judgment of the public has long since been formed on their merit and importance.

In February, 1814, he was appointed chancellor. The powers and jurisdiction of the court of chancery were not clearly defined. There were no precedents of its decisions, (if we except what might be gleaned from a few cases heard in the court of errors, on appeal, and reported by Mr. Johnson,) to which reference could be made in case of doubt; and it is a fact, that during the whole period of his sitting in chancery, from 1814 to 1823, not a single opinion or *dictum* of his predecessors was cited. Without any other guide, he felt at liberty to exercise such powers of the English chancery, as he deemed applicable, under the constitution and laws of the state, subject to the correction of the court of errors, on appeal. As to the course of equity to be administered, it was to him, in effect, as if the court had been then newly established. The causes before the court were managed by a few lawyers. He opened wide its doors; and his kindness and affability, his known habits of business, and promptitude of decision, attracted many to the court. The number of causes rapidly increased, and it soon required the most strenuous and unceasing efforts of his active mind to hear and decide the cases brought before him. Besides his attendance during the regular terms of the court, he was, at all times, easy of access at his chambers; so that no one ever complained of delay, as to the hearing or decision of his cause. He considered the cases in the order in which they were presented or argued, and did not leave one until he was fully prepared to deliver his judgment upon it. He read the pleadings and depositions with the greatest attention, carefully abstracting from them every material fact; and having become familiar with the merits of the cause, he was able, unless some technical or artificial rule was interposed, by his own clear moral perception to discover where lay the equity of the case. Not content, however, with satisfying his conscience as to the justice of his decision, he was studious to demonstrate that his judgment was supported by the well established principles of equity to be found in the decisions of the courts of that country from which our laws have been derived. His researches on every point were so full, as to leave little or nothing to be supplied by those who might afterwards wish to have his decisions reëxamined or to test the correctness of his conclusions.

Accustomed to take a large view of jurisprudence, and considering law not as a collection of arbitrary and disconnected rules, but rather as a science founded on general principles of justice and equity, to be applied to the actions of men in the diversified relations of civil society, he was not deterred, but animated, by the novelty and intricacy of a case; and while his mind was warmly engaged in the general subject, he sought rather than avoided difficult points, even when the discussion of them was not essential to the decision of the main question between the parties; so that nothing was suffered to pass without examination. His judicial opinions, are, therefore, uncommonly interesting and instructive to all, but especially to those who have commenced the study of the law, and aspire to eminence in that profession. The decisions in chancery are contained in seven volumes of Reports.

On the 31st July, 1823, having attained the age of sixty years, the period limited by the constitution for the tenure of his office, he retired from the court, after hearing and deciding every case that had been brought before him. On this occasion, the members of the bar residing in the city of New York, presented him an address, from which, as coming from those most competent, by their situation, to form a just estimate of his judicial character and services, we cannot refrain from giving some extracts. After speaking of the inestimable benefits conferred on the community by his judicial labors for five and twenty years, they observe: "During this long course of services, so useful and honorable, and which will form the most brilliant period in our judicial history, you have by a series of decisions, in law and equity, distinguished alike for practical wisdom, profound learning, deep research, and accurate discrimination, contributed to establish the fabric of our jurisprudence on those sound principles that have been sanctioned by the experience of mankind, and expounded by the venerable and enlightened sages of the law. Though others may hereafter enlarge and adorn the edifice whose deep and solid foundations were laid by the wise and patriotic framers of our government in that common law which they claimed for the people as their noblest inheritance, your labors on this magnificent structure will forever remain eminently conspicuous, commanding the applause of the present generation, and exciting the admiration and gratitude of future ages."

A similar address was presented to him by the members of the bar in Albany, and also by those from the different counties of the state, attending the supreme court at Utica, in August following. In the latter, it is observed, that "in the space of little more than nine years, an entire and wonderful revolution in the administration of equity has been accomplished;" and a reference is aptly made to the account given by Sir William Blackstone of a similar revolution in the English chancery, by Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Nottingham, who became chancellor in 1673. "The necessities of mankind," says that writer, "coöperated in his plan and enabled him in the course of nine years, to build a system of jurisprudence and jurisdiction upon wide and rational foundations." In the same address, speaking of their intercourse with him as a judge, they called to mind "so many instances of personal kindness—so many scenes of delightful instruction—so many evidences of pureness and singleness of heart—such a uniform and uninterrupted course of generous, candid, and polite treatment, that we are unable to express the fulness of our feelings, and can only say that our affection for you as a man, almost absorbs our veneration for you as a judge."

In these addresses, the bar were led to express a doubt as to the wisdom of that clause in the political constitution of the state, which "compelled him in the full enjoyment of his intellectual faculties, to relinquish a station he had filled with such consummate ability." And, in this case at least, the application of the policy of that provision might well induce them to call in question the wisdom and expediency of so singular a limitation.

In August, he visited the eastern states, and on his return home he became apprehensive that after being so many years actively engaged in discharging the duties of a public station, the sudden transition to privacy and seclusion, might produce an unfavorable effect on his health and spirits. He soon determined to remove to the city of New York, to open a law school, and to act as chamber counsel. The trustees of the college again offered him the professorship of law in that institution, which he accepted; and, in 1824, he prepared and delivered a series of law lectures, on a more comprehensive plan than that pursued in his former course. He also gave private instruction to students, who resorted to him from various parts of the United States. His parental kindness towards the young, and the frankness and affability of his manners, won their affection without diminishing their respect; and his conversation and example could not fail to inspire that ardor and emulation so conducive to their progress and success. His high reputation as a judge, induced many, not only in the city, but in distant places, to consult him on difficult and important questions, and, instead of the brief answers usually returned by counsel, he gave full and argumentative opinions. Many causes actually pending in court, were, by the agreement of the parties, submitted to his final decision. He had continued, for some years, thus usefully and agreeably occupied, when having discontinued his law lectures, he began to revise and enlarge them for publication; and in November, 1826, appeared the first volume of the "Commentaries on American Law." This volume includes three parts; the law of nations, the government and constitutional jurisprudence of the United States, and the various sources of municipal law. The second volume was published in November, 1827, the third in 1828, and the fourth in 1830. The three last comprise the law concerning the rights of persons, and personal and real property.

He has treated the several subjects comprised under these extensive and most important titles,—the rights of persons and the rights of property—in a manner more full and satisfactory than Blackstone; and has introduced many others, not found in the work of that author, with numerous references, quotations, and illustrations, the result of his various and extensive reading, highly pleasing and instructive to the student. He has left untouched the subjects of private wrongs, and the mode of pursuing their remedies by actions in courts of justice; of the powers and jurisdiction of judicial magistracy, and of public wrongs, or the law concerning crimes and punishments, which occupy the third and fourth volumes of the English commentator.

The work of Sir William Blackstone, by the elegance of its style, its lucid arrangement and finished execution, is so well adapted to render the study of the law attractive; and to give a knowledge of the constitution and laws of England, well deserving the attention of every liberal mind, that it has been, (though, for many years, more from necessity than choice,) very properly placed in the hands of every student; but as much of those admirable Commentaries relate to the political constitution of England, so different from our own, to its peculiar institutions, and to rights and duties, public and private, not existing in this country, an American work, exhibiting our own constitution, laws, institutions, usages, and civil relations, had been long wanted. In the full maturity of his understanding, with a mind long habituated to legal investigations and researches, and with sound and enlightened views of jurisprudence, no man, perhaps, could have been found, better fitted than Chancellor Kent to execute such a work, and it may diminish, in some degree, the regret felt for the loss sustained by the public and the legal profession, in being deprived of his valuable services on the bench, to know how usefully to the world and honorably to himself, he has employed his time and talents in its performance.

The limits prescribed to this brief memoir will not permit us, if it were proper, to go farther, or to enter into a particular examination of the merits of this masterly work. The first edition of the commentaries having been exhausted, he published a second in April, 1832, carefully revised and greatly enlarged. From one who has done so much for the improvement and diffusion of legal science, and who has now advanced to the limit ordinarily assigned to the duration of human life, it would be unreasonable to ask, or expect more; but while he appears to feel none of the infirmities of age, or to seek indulgence or repose, we cannot suppress a wish, that he may yet be induced to present his view, also, of that system of equity jurisprudence, to the formation and illustration of which his own judicial labors have so largely contributed.

Having been elected president of the New York Historical Society, he delivered, by request, a public discourse, at their anniversary meeting, on the 6th December, 1828. In this elegant and instructive address, he very appropriately notices the principal events in the history of the colony and state of New York to the end of the revolution, and mentions, with merited praise, some of the eminent patriots and statesmen of New York, who so ably assisted in achieving that revolution, and in securing its blessings to their posterity. If our attention could be oftener drawn from the absorbing pursuits of wealth and ambition, or the contests of selfish demagogues, to the contemplation of such illustrious examples of wisdom and virtue, we might find more perfect models for our imitation, and haply feel our hearts warmed with that pure love of country which glowed in their breasts.

At the request of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale College, a literary association formed in 1780, of which he was an original member, and comprising the most distinguished graduates of that seminary, he delivered a public address, at the anniversary meeting of the associates, on the 13th September, 1831. This discourse, in which he takes a historical survey of the college, from its origin in he beginning of the last century, and sketches the characters of its pious and learned founders, supporters, and instructers, is replete with generous feelings and just sentiments on literature and education. Alluding, towards the close, to his own class, of whom twelve (out of twenty-five) were then living, and most of those present; he makes this natural and striking reflection. "Star after star, has fallen from its sphere. A few bright lights are still visible; but the constellation itself has become dim, and almost ceases to shed its radiance around me. What a severe lesson of mortality does such a retrospect teach! What a startling rebuke to human pride! How brief the drama! How insignificant the honors and 'fiery chase of ambition,' except as mental discipline for beings destined for immortality."

In the brief notice which we have taken of the principal events in the life of this eminent jurist, we have adverted to some of the distinctive qualities of his character; and it will be perceived how pure, virtuous, upright, and honorable that life has been, the full delineation of which must be reserved for some future biographer. Though not passed in scenes that attract the general gaze of mankind, or excite the admiration and applause of the multitude, it has been highly distinguished, affording a bright and instructive example of industry and perseverance in the pursuit of useful knowledge, and of unwearied diligence in the discharge of every duty, public and private.

Chancellor Kent has three children, a son, and two daughters; the former was admitted to the bar a few years since. Happy in his family; amiable, modest, and candid in his social intercourse; kind, indulgent, and affectionate in his feelings, it would be pleasing, if it were proper, at this time, to speak of him in those private relations which awaken the best affections and warmest sympathies of our nature. With a sound constitution, strengthened and preserved by temperance and moderate exercise, he has enjoyed that perfect and uninterrupted health, which is rarely the lot of the studious and sedentary. Possessing a cheerful temper, and a lively consciousness of existence that fits him for enjoyment, he seems to have experienced, in a high degree, those blessings for which the Roman Poet bids the rational inquirer after happiness to supplicate heaven, and those gifts have not been wasted or misapplied.

"Semita certe
Tranquillæ per Virtutem patet unica vitæ.'

W. J.

CHARLES EWING, LL. D.

A VIRTUOUS life demands our reverence; public and private worth, our admiration; long and practical usefulness, our gratitude. And when death has closed the labors of the wise and good, it becomes a melancholy, yet not painful duty, to give utterance to the expressions of friendship, and contemplate the example which has been given.

CHARLES EWING was the only child of James Ewing, the commissioner of loans for the state of New Jersey for the whole period during which that office was continued, and the praise of whose integrity, accuracy in business, benevolence, and piety will there be long remembered. He was of Irish descent, but born in the county of Cumberland, and was the youngest son of a numerous family, some of whom have been eminently distinguished for literature, science, and professional ability. The subject of this sketch was born on the 8th day of July, 1780, in the county of Burlington. In his most tender years, the same temper and correctness of deportment were exhibited which attended all his subsequent conduct. Though gay, sprightly, and animated, and enjoying the innocent amusements of boyhood, yet he was docile, obedient, and observant of every duty. He received his preparatory education at the academy in Trenton, which at that time conducted its scholars through a course of studies beyond the ordinary requirements of grammar schools, and at an early age he passed through this course with a zeal, assiduity, and talent, which secured to him the palm in merit and scholarship.

At sixteen he entered the college of New Jersey, and at eighteen received the first degree in the arts, the highest honors of the institution being awarded to him alone, as the just reward of capacity, industry, and correct conduct, in a class whose members were highly distinguished for them all. He bestowed a full and proper attention on all the studies of the institution; but if there was one more his favorite than the rest, and in which the energy of his mind most clearly exhibited itself, it was mathematical science. No one has at any time left that venerated and most valuable seminary of learning, more deeply imbued with the sciences and ornamented with the literature which have been so long, ably, and skilfully taught there.

After the usual clerkship he was admitted to the bar of his native state. In entering upon his profession he preferred to make the city of Philadelphia the theatre of his exertions. But the persuasions of his friends induced him to yield his society to them, and make his native state the scene of his usefulness.* He received his license in 1802, was admitted a counsellor in 1805; and in the short space of seven years was called by the court to the honorary degree of sergeant; an evidence of the high estimation in which his character and acquirements were held. Residing at the seat of government, he confined his practice to the adjoining counties, and the higher courts of the state, seeking with his characteristic prudence rather to give himself time for full and accurate preparation in all his causes, than to extend the circle of his active employment. His properties as a lawyer were extensive knowledge, and a just estimate of fundamental principles; close acquaintance with cases and decisions; accuracy in the forms and rules applicable both to practice and the rights of the parties; indefatigable industry in his investigations; clear disorimination and sound judgment. He took his points, and stated them with uncommon singleness and perspicuity; sustained them by fair and cogent argument; and never failed to exhibit in their support all the learning of the cases and the best reasonings of the judges. As a speaker he had a full share of advantages. His person was manly; his features large and open, but not harsh; his eye prominent and mild; his voice strong and clear; his enunciation distinct; and these united bespoke attention and trust, and reached at once the understanding and hearts of his auditors. Cool and cautious, he did not permit his feelings to transport him beyond the line of discretion and decorum. His language was classically pure and correct. A chaste and polished scholar, and enjoying his learning with high delight, he was not fond of displaying it, and was always reluctant to cover his honest English with foreign ornaments. With a playful imagination and fine fancy and keen wit, he did not often indulge them, especially when engaged in legal discussions, for he felt too deeply the weight of his responsibility in representing his client's rights, to venture where the argument did not force him. The fairness of his conduct as an advocate, and his integrity and learning as a counsellor, gave him an unusual share of the confidence both of courts and juries; to such an extent indeed, that unsuccessful parties sometimes ventured the complaint, that it was the influence of the counsel, not the justice of the cause, which had triumphed. But that confidence was deserved; for no where could they find a safer judgment, better knowledge, or fairer dealing in an advocate. During twenty-two years he led an active professional life, and did not permit himself to be turned aside by the allurements of pleasure, speculation, or office.

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* At this time, and shortly after his admission to the bar, Mr. Ewing married Eleanor Graham, eldest daughter of the Rev. James F. Armstrong, of Trenton.

In October, 1824, the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens led to that result which is always to be desired, always grateful to correct feeling, always profitable to the public interests, always safe under popular institutions. His real merits, sound integrity, comprehensive learning, great capacity for business, and fitness for public service, found their appropriate location in the office of chief justice of the state in which he lived. The station was unsought, unsolicited, and reluctantly accepted; but the selection did honor to the discernment and wisdom of the appointing power, and was made in a manner which called on his high sense of duty, to yield his personal interests and convenience to the public wishes.

As a judge he was learned both in principles and cases, and prompt in their application; a strict common law lawyer, he had drawn deeply from the original sources of legal principles, and always delighted to find in the old authorities, both the establishment and the reason of the doctrine on which he was to decide. But he did not rely on them alone. He read diligently, and derived the aid which they afford from the volumes of civil and ecclesiastical law; and examined carefully and improved by all the legal publications of the present day. He understood thoroughly and respected the relations which the tribunals, of which he was a member, bore in the comparatively complicated system of our union; and while on the one hand, he avoided trespassing upon powers granted by the people to other jurisdictions; on the other hand, he could not be led to surrender the least part of that which they had conferred on his own. In *Bruen* vs. *Ogden*, and other cases, his views on this point are beautifully illustrated, and exhibit not only the correct opinions and feelings of the judge, but of the citizen and patriot; and the language which he used in relation to the courts of the United States did honor both to his head and his heart. He always took upon himself all the responsibilities of the judge, and discharged his obligations to juries fully, by guiding them in matters of law, and when it was proper, aiding them in their estimate of facts and evidence. He held it a duty of the court, to instruct them both in civil and criminal cases, and would not permit them, in the exercise of their right to judge of the law in criminal matters, to disregard its provisions—but promptly and efficiently interfered to arrest their errors. And this out of no disregard of their rights. For the system of jury trial he had a fond admiration, and watched over it with parental care. His exposition of it, in a lecture before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New Jersey, is the most finished and beautiful exhibition of its merits, which is to be found in the same compass in our language. He saw it as it is, an establishment of freedom; the privilege and shield of freemen; valuable for the support and perpetuation of our institutions; not only by guarding against oppression in every form, but by frequently calling on the citizen to partake in the administration of justice; thereby interesting his feelings in its support, and instructing him in his own rights and duties.

To his labor as a judge, there was but one limit—the perfect examination of every question he had to decide. Short of this point he never rested. He was not satisfied while one fact or authority remained unexamined, or one avenue to light unexplored. Amusements of a becoming and moral character he did not spurn; social pleasures he enjoyed; literary and scientific acquisitions were his delight; on domestic enjoyments his heart rested with fondness: yet none of these were ever found in the way of his complete investigations, and his entire performance of every official duty. During the sittings of the court over which he presided, it was his practice to examine and arrange all the papers in the causes, to note the points of difficulty, and the means for their elucidation, in readiness for consulting with his brethren. At the close of the terms he investigated all the cases which were reserved for consideration; and prepared opinions upon them. In all cases in which it was proper for him to express an opinion, and important that it should be recorded, his views were expressed in writing; and these were usually the judgments of the court. After his death, his written opinions were found in all the cases which had been argued and submitted to him at the preceding term of the court; and this notwithstanding the immense labor he had undergone, in that great and interesting controversy in the society of Friends, which he had been called into chancery to hear and determine. His opinions were clearly and forcibly expressed;

in pure judicial diction, omitting nothing, and leaving nothing in doubt. They may justly be compared with any with which the profession has been favored, by the state tribunals. His integrity and impartiality were without a stain; nay, they were never approached even by suspicion. Strong as were his attachments of all kinds, and ardent as were his feelings, on the bench he knew no man. The innocent and the guilty, the rich and the poor, the strong and the feeble, the powerful controller of popular opinion, and the humble slave of others' wills, had an equal measure of justice before him. With his eye fixed on law and justice, no influence could solicit, no power could drive him from the path which he believed led to their attainment; and he had the moral courage to dare to do whatever his judgment and concience told him was his duty. If the time had come when trespasses were threatened, and the constitution and the laws in danger, he would have disregarded alike the tumults of popular excitement, and the frowns of power. Should such a moment ever come, there can be no better wish for the people of New Jersey, than that his spirit may be found in that seat which he held. As was his learning, so was that spirit fitted not alone for the station which he occupied; but for any other, even the highest judicial tribunal, and there, those who knew him best, ardently desired to see him. We have said that he was worthy of imitation as an advocate and counsellor; we will add, that the judge can go no where for a purer and better model. He stands more than acquitted in the great account between him and his country—of confidence bestowed and answered—of responsibility imposed and discharged—of duty assigned and performed, of office conferred and dignified, of the administration of law and justice confided, and faithfully and impartially sustained and vindicated.

In youth and early manhood he was an active and ardent politician, and entertaining at all times clear and decided convictions on public measures and political subjects, he acted upon them through life in the exercise of his right of suffrage, and frankly avowed them whenever the occasion demanded. His political views and opinions were those of Washington and Marshall. He admired the institutions of the country; believed they were adapted to its present condition; fitted to secure its happiness and prosperity, and to protect the enjoyment of liberty; and resting upon safe grounds, that it was not wise to change them. Always decided and firm as a politician, he was at no time intemperate or intolerant; nor was he of any party in his friendships or in his office. His unanimous re-appointment in 1831, when he differed from the prevailing party in opinion, testifies to the correctness of this observation. And that which was done then, would have been found true in any state of political feeling. No party would have ventured to break his hold on the station which he occupied; which was not less that of office, than of control in the affections of his fellow-citizens.

He always contemned the fallacy that public and official merit may safely be sought, and public interests be safely confided to those who disregard the duties and obligations of morality and justice. He had an elevated standard both for public and private virtue; and this standard was erected by the religious, moral, and philosophical creed which he had adopted. It rested on the revelation of a law, as the source and test of virtue. In that revelation he had unwavering faith, for he had applied to it every principle of legal and philosophical investigation, and found it sustained by the highest and strongest evidence, amounting to demonstration. "Desiring to be himself nothing better nor nobler than man, he was content to be nothing less;" but it was not man in ruin, but in his best estate, as redeemed by the blood, and purified by the grace of the Redeemer: and he acted and lived, and labored, to make his fellow men see and feel their own interests in aspiring to the same elevation.

Hence he was the zealous advocate of all efforts for the improvement of the moral condition of society; of every plan that was calculated to advance and render dear and valuable the relations of home and of country, and which tends to the melioration of the condition of mortality.

He was especially the advocate of education, in all its valuable forms. Himself a ripe scholar, and conferring honor on the highest literary degree, which his known merits had received from a respectable literary institution, he devoted much of his time to advance not only the literature and science of his country, but to extend the means of cultivating the mind, to every class, even the humblest of his fellow-citizens. He was for twelve years a trustee of the college of New Jersey; and scarcely ever absent from the meetings of the board; and none of the venerated members of that body carried into the government of that seminary a purer spirit, a more active zeal, a wiser judgment, more useful talent, and higher ardor in the cause of education.

His studies as a scholar were never neglected. He retained and extended his knowledge of the writings of ancient authors, particularly in the Latin language, and having previously read and studied them in the original, he was engaged, previous to his decease, in reviewing them in the best translations. He kept pace, also, with the learning of the day, and there are few literary men, even among those whose time is not occupied by official or other engagements, who are so conversant with all branches of science, and all the modern publications. His reading was various, both in works of fancy and graver authors. He had a fine poetic taste, which he sometimes indulged in writing, and has left several beautiful specimens, which create regret that their number was not greater. They indicate the delicacy of his feelings, the keenness of his sensibility, the purity of his sentiments, and the classic elegance of his style. But his chief literary pleasures were found in works of historical and philosophical cast, and which treat of the higher moral and social obligations and duties. The Bible, with one of them usually in Latin or French, was the companion of his leisure hours, and of all his journeyings, whether official, or for health and recreation. He had a prompt and sprightly wit, but seldom exhibited it; never but in moments of the freest social enjoyment; and never to the injury of the feelings of others, or of the cause of virtue.

But his high elevation, his pure joy, his bright earthly honor was in *home*. It was there that the soundness of his judgment, the wisdom of his counsel, the mildness of his temper, the firmness of his purposes, the affectionate tone of his manners, the unequalled tenderness of his heart, the dignity and elevation of his virtues, appeared in all their loveliness and all their strength. And they only could truly estimate his worth, who saw and knew him *there*. There he was eminently great, and good, and wise. There, too, "he loved to love;" and the only pang he ever caused, was when he ceased to love.*

The life and character which have engaged our attention are such as the heart delights to contemplate. They form a consistent whole, with no irregularity of proportion. They were supported by a vigorous intellect, sustained by lofty purposes, and based upon an honest and feeling heart. Such it was his high ambition to be; and such he was. Such does the state of which he was a native, regard him; and he will continue to be admired as one of the richest portions of the Corinthian capital of her fame. The universal distress of her citizens; the excited sympathies and profound emotions expressed by the learned, the patriotic, the wise, and the benevolent, of every rank and sect, form a precious tribute to his worth, and give assurance that he did not live in vain; and that his name and actions will long continue in remembrance. S. L. S.

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* The decease of Chief Justice Ewing marks a period of national calamity. The cholera which had originated in Asia, in 1817, and had exhibited its desolating power in its western course through Europe, made its first appearance in Montreal, in the summer of 1832, and very soon extended its ravages through the United States. Judge Ewing fell among its earliest victims at Trenton, New Jersey, on the 5th of August of that year.—Ed.

GEORGE WOLF.

George Wolf, governor of Pennsylvania, was born on the 12th of August, 1777, in Allen township, Northampton county, Pennsylvania. His father, George Wolf, was a native of Germany, and a man justly and universally esteemed for his integrity. He left two sons, Philip and George. A classical school being opened in Northampton county, by a society formed for that purpose, and conducted under the successive direction of Peter Leo, John Harold, and Robert Andrews, A. M., the latter of whom was a graduate of Trinity college, Dublin, the subject of this sketch became one of the pupils, and in that institution acquired a correct knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. After Mr. Andrews left the neighborhood, Mr. Wolf attended, for a short time, to his father's farm, when an opportunity offering, he entered the prothonotary's office of Northampton county, in the capacity of a clerk, where he studied law, under the direction of the Honorable John Ross.

In 1799 he advocated the election of Governor M'Kean and President Jefferson, under the latter of whom he received the appointment of post master, at Easton, Pennsylvania. Subsequently, Governor M'Kean appointed him clerk of the orphans' court of Northampton county, which situation he filled until 1809. In 1814 he was elected a member of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania. In the years 1824, 1826, and 1828, he was elected a member of congress, the latter year by a very large majority, and the two former years without any opposition. In congress he was distinguished for his habitual industry and attention to business, and while chairman of an important committee, he made numerous reports, evincing those powers of investigation and discrimination for which, it is conceded by all, he is remarkable. As a speaker, he was plain and argumentative, using good language, and conveying his ideas with great precision. He was known to be a decided friend of the American system and internal improvements; and the interests of education have at all times received from him a steady support.

These qualities, added to the strictest integrity, had become so well known, and were so highly appreciated by the people of Pennsylvania, that in 1829, they elected Mr. WOLF governor of the commonwealth. So far from having been an aspirant to this distinguished station, there is the best authority for saying, that he was placed in nomination by the state convention entirely without his knowledge. He yielded to the wishes of the people, who had selected him for their chief magistrate, and, abandoning a lucrative practice in his profession, entered upon his official duties as governor in the latter end of December, 1829. He found the state embarked in an extensive scheme of internal improvement, by which the eastern and western waters were intended to be united. The public improvements of Pennsylvania were designed to be connected with those of New York; thus affording to each state increased advantages. The friends of the system, paralyzed by a powerful opposition to this important and splendid undertaking, had been deterred from adopting efficient measures to provide adequate resources for the expenditure. On the 17th November, 1829, at an extra session called by governor Shulze, an act was passed, authorizing a temporary loan of one million of dollars, at an interest of five per cent., to relieve the public from present embarrassments, and to enable the state to carry on her improvements. But the credit of the state was so depressed, that capitalists were unwilling to advance funds on the proposed security. A resort was therefore had, on the 7th December, 1829, to a *compulsory* loan from all the banks in the commonwealth, whose charters required them to loan money to the state, for the several sums prescribed in their respective acts of incorporation. In this depressed state of the public credit, many of the most zealous friends of the improvement system hesitated in their course. But Governor WOLF, as soon as he came into office, by a bold and decided message, recommended a vigorous effort to complete the work which had been commenced, and without looking to the right or to the left, for that "mushroom popularity which is gained without merit and lost without crime," but with an eye single to the public good, and the honor and credit of the commonwealth, recommended a system of taxation which should be adequate to the public wants. The bold and fearless manner in which he met the crisis, had an almost instantaneous effect upon the public credit. So implicit and abiding has been the public confidence in his capacity and integrity, that laws for raising by taxation the funds necessary for the current expenses of government, and the payment of interest upon loans, were immediately passed; the improvement system was prosecuted with renewed vigor, and capitalists, instead of hesitating to advance funds on loan to the state, became so anxious for the opportunity of making investments, so safe and permanent, that *the premium offered and paid for the privilege of lending to the state at an interest of five per cent., has averaged, for some years past, from fourteen to fifteen per cent.*

In the spring of 1832, another important crisis in the improvement system occurred, and was as promptly met, as it had been in 1829. On the 30th March, near the close of the session of the legislature, an act was passed for completing certain portions of the public works, leaving numerous contractors on other portions to go unprovided for, and the work itself, notwithstanding the immense expenditure already incurred, to go to decay. He returned the bill with his signature, but accompanied with a message, so characteristic of the known firmness and steadiness of purpose for which he is remarkable, that another act was immediately passed, making the necessary provisions to sustain the honor of the state, by completing the work already under contract.

Mr. Wolf had not taken the responsibility of *originating* the improvement system, but finding that the work had been undertaken and adopted as a measure of Pennsylvania policy, upon which large sums had been expended, and the public faith pledged, he considered it due alike to the interests and honor of the commonwealth, that the most energetic measures should be pursued for its completion.

Although Governor Wolf was a supporter of General Jackson, on each of the occasions when that individual was before the American people for the distinguished station of president of the United States, still, there were some important measures of public policy, in which he entertained opinions somewhat at variance with those of the president. Believing the United States bank to possess a salutary influence in regulating the currency of the country, he approved and signed a resolution of the Pennsylvania legislature, in favor of re-chartering that institution. After the publication of General Jackson's celebrated *veto*, and during the progress of the electioneering campaign, some of the friends of the bank endeavored to procure from the governor an expression of opinion adverse to the reëlection of General Jackson. But Governor Wolf's opinion of the qualifications of Andrew Jackson for the presidency, at that critical period of the history of the country, did not depend upon the views entertained by the general on the bank question. Under these circumstances, the friends of the bank in Pennsylvania, in order the more effectually to reach General Jackson, at the election which was to take place in November, 1832, united with the anti-masonic and anti-improvement party, in opposing the reëlection of Governor Wolf, which took place in the October preceding. Notwithstanding this procedure on the part of the friends of the bank, Governor Wolf, on his reëlection, in his first message to the legislature, reiterated his opinions in favor of the United States bank. It was remarked by a member of the legislature, (an opponent of the bank,) in reference to this high minded and magnanimous proceeding, that "it added one more to the many evidences already before the people of Pennsylvania, that their affairs were safely confided to the care of a chief magistrate, whose exalted purity of motive and unflinching firmness, in the pursuit of what he believed to be right, placed him above the storm of party excitement, and beyond the reach of those influences which are too apt to agitate, and render unsteady in their purposes, the rest of mankind."

At the last session of the legislature, numerous bills for the establishment of banks throughout the state were under consideration, and several of them were passed and sent to him for his signature. But he made no scruple to exercise the *veto* power, reposed in him by the constitution, whenever, in his judgment, the interests of the country required it. At different periods during the session, he returned, with his objections, three bills for the establishment of banks, and one for withdrawing from the cognizance of the supreme court, certain claims for canal damages. On each of these occasions, attempts were made to procure the passage of the bills by the votes of two thirds—the number required by the constitution to pass a law without the approbation of the governor. But so forcible were his arguments, and so abiding the confidence in his judgment and devotion to the public interests, that he was constantly sustained by a majority of the house in which the bills originated—that body, on receiving the governor's objections, uniformly receding from the bills which had previously received their sanction.

In this brief sketch, enough has been given to illustrate the happy results of our republican institutions, and to add one more to the number of proud examples contained in our country's history, teaching to the emulating youth of America this salutary lesson, that virtue and industry may win their way from the humblest walks in society, to the most distinguished stations in the republic.

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